

FIGHT RACISM! FIGHT IMPERIALISM!

Anti-imperialist paper of the Revolutionary Communist Group

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Reagan 'a madman an imbecile and a bum'

Fidel Castro put into words what the majority of humankind think of Ronald Reagan. Reagan, the President who saw fit to joke about commencing bombing the Soviet Union in five minutes, who bragged of enjoying breakfast while invading Grenada, a Hollywood flop rejuvenated by Sylvester Stallone movies, fancying himself gunning down every Lebanese in sight. In July this man dared to describe Cuba, Nicaragua, Libya, Iran and North Korea as a 'confederation of criminal governments...run by the strangest collection of misfits, Looney Tunes and squalid criminals since the advent of the Third Reich'.

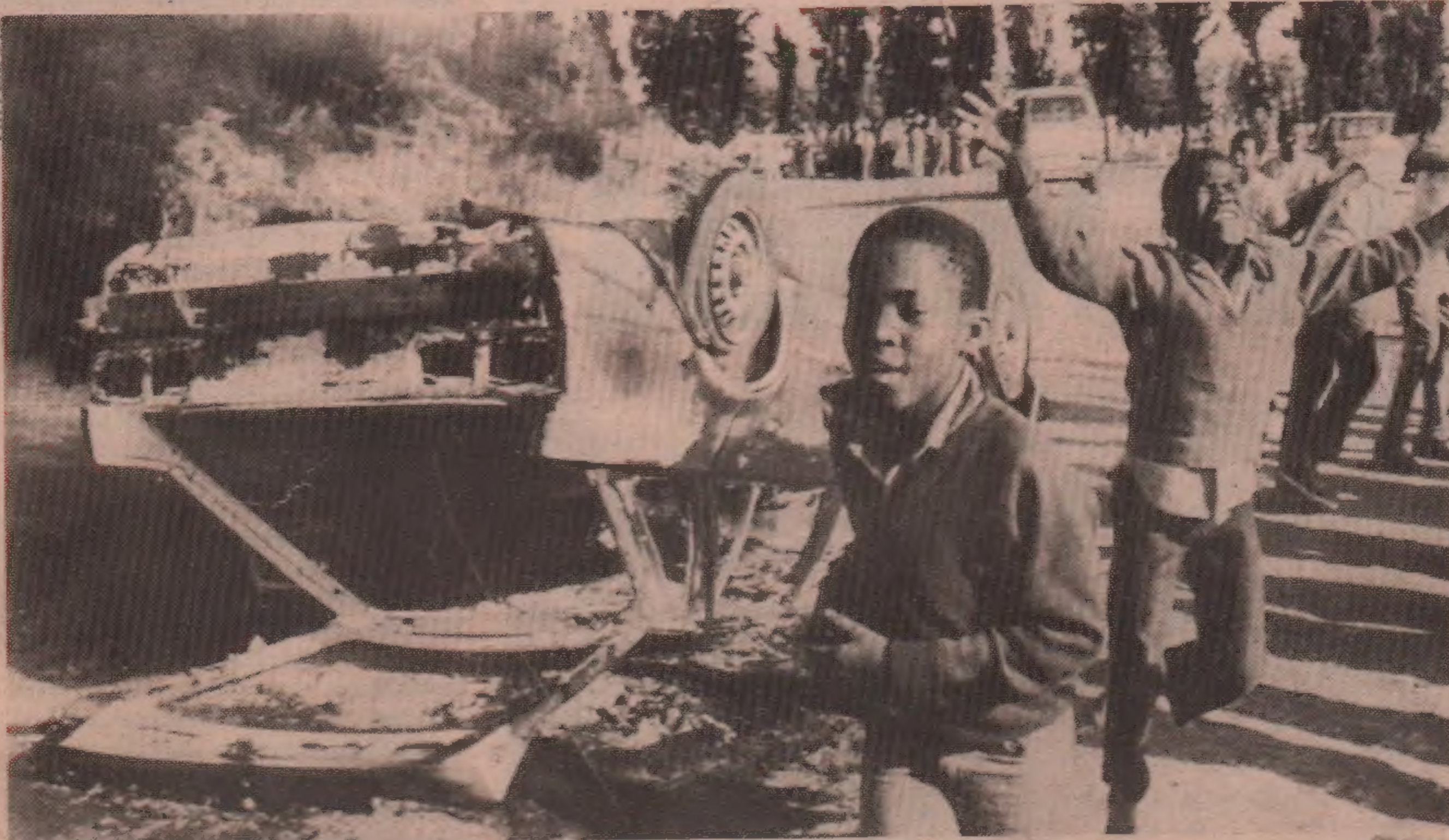


Aside from his favourite intellectual stimulation, cartoon films, Reagan should know all about the Third Reich: after all, didn't he pay his respects to the SS at Bittburg, and his own fawning press acknowledges that over 10,000 Nazis, including 765 senior scientists and engineers, have found a home in Reagan's land. He has crammed his staff with proven embezzlers, bribers and gangsters of high finance; more than a score of his personal appointments have resigned in the face of corruption charges since Reagan's 1981 inauguration. Like Castro said: 'He is the biggest liar of all the American Presidents...the worst terrorist in the history of mankind' a man whose unscrupulous propaganda is comparable to that of Hitler and Goebbels.

'It is Reagan who supports the genocidal army of El Salvador, the rapists of American nuns. Reagan ordered the mining of the harbours in Nicaragua. It was Reagan who sent troops to invade little Grenada.' Over 280 armed interventions in pursuit of foreign policy goals since the Japanese surrender and 1,500 overseas military bases encircling the globe are testimony enough to the intentions of US imperialism, without listing the assassinations, massacres and coups which are the calling card of the CIA.

With a specious bombast he imagines fitting to his title, Reagan threatened: 'Under international law any state which is the victim of acts of war has the right to defend itself.' With understanding and generosity President Castro replied: 'How can you take this man seriously? Perhaps he doesn't even know what he is talking about. His ideas are from the era of Buffalo Bill, not the nuclear age.' As the Greeks observed 'Those whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad.'

Trevor Rayne



10 July – Young Duda boys dance round the burning car of a suspected informer

BLACK YOUTH DEFY APARTHEID TERROR

'We are unarmed, Umkhonto we Sizwe, we are waiting for you!' This is the reply of the fighting youth of South Africa's black townships to the naked and shameless wave of repression and terror unleashed on the risen people by the apartheid regime. Duduza township, 25 miles from Johannesburg, was the scene on 10 July, of a massive show of defiance. At the funeral of four young student COSAS leaders, killed by the regime, young fellow students in yellow tee-shirts bearing the photos of the dead youth and quotations from ANC leader Nelson Mandela, were joined by a 10,000 strong crowd as they marched four abreast bearing the coffins from the town's sports stadium to the cemetery. A massive ANC flag was unfurled in defiance of the banning of the ANC, as the procession swept through the townships' streets.

Over twenty people have been killed in Duduza alone in the last few weeks but the answer of the youth is to heighten their struggle; to make more sacrifices, and to identify ever more closely with the banned revolutionary organisations, particularly with Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

At the funeral itself, the people's anger at apartheid's stooges, black policemen, 'councillors' and informers, was demonstrated. A section of the crowd spotted an informer, cornered him, and after questioning, set on him and his car, beating him severely before Bishop Tutu, who was attending the funeral, intervened to save his life. His car was overturned, set on flames, and the blazing car attacked with hammers and sticks.

Earlier, the homes of two policemen were attacked by crowds of youth throwing stones. One policeman answered with live rounds of ammunition, killing

With their hysterical treatment of the recent arrests and charging of Irish men and women accused of planning a bombing campaign in Britain, the police, the Press and British politicians have shown their usual contempt for truth and justice. The apparent facts are these: that after making arrests in Glasgow on 22 June the police found a bomb in a London hotel on 23 June. Having made at least 22 arrests around the country the police subsequently charged 11 people on counts ranging from murder to withholding information. However, from these events a propaganda blaze was created and fuelled each day by sensational 'revelations'. The British lie machine worked overtime with stories about an IRA 'blitz' aimed at killing 'holiday-makers, the Queen, children, American tourists' etc.

It is worth noting how these stories grew daily because this operation was masterminded by Sir Kenneth Newman, who learned to use the media for psych-ops whilst he was head of the RUC.

22 June – Arrests made.

23 June – Bomb found in Rubens Hotel.

24 June – Police warn that bombs had been planted in 12 coastal resorts. Police searches begin. Nothing found.

25 June – Police say bomb planted in Great Yarmouth to coincide with Queen's visit there. Big search begins and continues for three days with sniffer dogs.

26 June – Reports say that a package thought to be a bomb was found after

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Scabs split NUM

Four months after the bitter miners' strike ended, the scabs of the Notts Area NUM announced that they were forming a breakaway union. Although the split has been imminent since the Notts Area carried on working in March 1984, it was finally precipitated by the NUM National Conference's decisions to sack Notts scab leaders Roy Lynk and David Prendergast, and to adopt rule changes which give the national NUM greater powers over the local areas. Notts delegates have endorsed the split by 228 to 20 votes. It is the second time around for Notts – in 1926 a bosses union was set up under the leadership of Labour MP George Spencer.

Many will see the split as a weakening of the NUM, but in the present period, when the working class is deeply divided, such splits are inevitable and are a healthy development if a fighting trade union movement is to be built. As those who wish to carry on the fight in the NUM have found out since the end of the strike, concessions to scabs in order to promote unity achieve nothing but the need to make more concessions.

The scabs suffered a setback when a High Court judge, responding to an injunction sought by Ray Chadburn and 30 Notts miners, ruled that a secret ballot must be held before a split can take place. The fight between the NUM and the scab union is now on. A sustained campaign could prevent half of the Notts miners from going over to the scabs. Many Notts miners are objecting to the locking out of the elected Presi-



dent Chadburn and to the fact that management are distributing membership forms at Notts pits. It seems likely that the Durham scabs union will affiliate, but so far COSA, South Derbyshire and Leicestershire are undecided. The pre-conference CPGB miners' caucus (McGahey and Bolton are leading CPGB members) argued that the proposed rule changes were 'divisive'

and should be shelved as a concession to the scabs. But despite the fact that South Wales delegates voted with the right wing areas against the rule changes, 75% of the delegates voted for them. An amendment which called for associate membership for the women fell by a single vote. Although Scargill, has since argued that a new category of 'honorary' member can include them, the vote is a backward step and a rejection of a unique opportunity to step outside the old patronising and sexist traditions. Importantly, the NUM sent solidarity greetings and the promise of financial assistance to black mine-workers in South Africa, who have just begun a strike, in gratitude for the solidarity sent by miners of the banned NUM in South Africa.

Precisely at the time of the Notts split, the NCB is set to produce a new 'Plan for Coal' which aims to cut 30m tonnes of capacity over the next four years. Nearly half the cuts, will involve pits which are exhausted, but the remainder will be cut by closing pits designated by the NCB as 'uneconomic', although the reserves are substantial. The cuts could

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ARMS FOR APARTHEID

On Wednesday 10 July 5 men were found guilty of conspiring to smuggle military components into South Africa, in the Coventry arms trial. Despite describing the conspiracy as 'a protracted defiance of the law and an extensive profitable and well-organised operation' Judge Mars Jones handed out remarkably lenient sentences. Michael Gardiner got 15 months' imprisonment and £100,000; Derek Salt 10 months and £25,000; Malcolm Bird and Michael Swann 3 months (2 months suspended) each; Henry Coles was fined £2,500.

The five were part of an international plot involving British firms such as the Dowry Group to smuggle military equipment to South Africa: spare parts for (British-supplied) Buccaneer bombers; high technology components for guided missiles; and artillery gun sight gears amongst others. Four South Africans involved in the plot were allowed to return to South Africa on bail from the South African Embassy. Under orders from Botha, they have refused to return for trial. No action has been taken about this by the British government.

The fines are chickenfeed and the sentences a more than acceptable risk considering the vast profits made by British and US businesses in breaking the arms embargo.

Terry O'Halloran

STOP DEPORTATION

White South African Andrew Sacks is threatened with deportation to South Africa. Andy Sacks is serving a 4 year sentence in Frankland prison in Durham. If he is returned to South Africa he faces vicious retribution from the apartheid regime.

In 1968 Andrew Sacks appeared in the infamous Prisons Trial when *Rand Daily Mail* journalists were put on trial for exposing torture and brutality in South African prisons. Sacks, as an ex-prisoner, gave detailed evidence confirming the *Rand Daily Mail* stories. For this he was charged with perjury and theft – the theft refers to a document which went missing during the trial. These charges are political charges, an act of vengeance by the regime against Sacks. Sacks fled South Africa and has lived in Britain ever since. Now he is threatened with deportation.

FRFI urges all readers to protest immediately to the Home Office and demand that Andy Sacks be allowed to stay. Messages of solidarity to Andy would also be greatly appreciated. Addresses: Home Office, Queen Annes Gate, London, SW1; Andrew Sacks, G57898, HMP Frankland, Braxside, Durham.

Terry O'Halloran

NO SANCTIONS, NO SHAME

'It would lead to job losses. We would lose our influence to reform. They would hurt our businesses more than apartheid. Reaction would be strengthened...'

In the UN, the EEC, the Commonwealth, OPEC, any international forum where governments gather just two solitary representatives will vote against sanctions being imposed on South Africa: those of Britain and the USA, the two biggest foreign investors in black southern African labour. Session after session, vote after vote, each offers the other the same alibi:

'Of course we oppose apartheid, but we must stay in South Africa to reform it.'

At the UN in June whilst supporting resolutions condemning the South African incursion in Cabinda, Angola and the murderous invasion of Gaberone, Botswana, Britain and the US abstained on a call for sanctions to force South Africa to implement Resolution 435 on Independence in Namibia.

Shame is a small price to pay for their profits. The villain unpunished will be encouraged in its crimes until we do what the black people of South Africa demand of us and force the British government, on pain of revolt, to support sanctions.

Trevor Rayne



9 August – International day of solidarity with women of Southern Africa

Honour the WOMEN

Remember all our women in the jails,
Remember all our women in campaigns,
Remember all our women over many fighting years,
Remember all our women for their triumphs, and for their tears.
(From 'Women's Day Song')

Since 1956, 9 August has been designated as South African Women's Day, to pay tribute to the fighting black women of South Africa who are in the forefront of every aspect of the struggle for freedom and justice.

In the words of Winnie Mandela,

'When we shall bring about the liberation of this land, the women will be in the forefront, emerging not only as martyrs... [but] as one of the greatest weapons, the greatest instruments of liberation.'

Women's resistance

9 August marked an important stage in the lengthy struggle against the pass laws, started in 1913. It was on this day that 20,000 women from all over South Africa, mobilised by the Federation of South African Women, surmounted enormous obstacles to gather outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria. They then handed in thousands of petitions, protesting at the decision to extend the hated pass laws to black women. Resistance continued despite severe punishment such as brutal beatings. Women burned pass books and gave themselves up for arrest in their hundreds, stretching prisons and police cells to breaking point! Although the pass laws were even-

tually forced on black women, their high degree of organisation and militancy inspired and spurred on millions in the struggle.

Triple oppression

Black women in South Africa and Namibia suffer under the triple yoke of oppression – because they are women, they are black and they are workers. Under apartheid, where the role of black people is to provide a pool of cheap labour, women, old people, children and the sick are considered to be 'superfluous appendages' of the labour force, and as such to be dumped in the bantustans. There are already over 5m women living in the bantustans, living in extreme poverty. In the Transkei, out of every 1,000 babies born, 282 die in their first year of their lives from malnutrition.

Very few women have the 'right' to live in the urban areas, and even if they do they are separated from their husbands and families. As domestic servants and nannies, they can bring up

white children but not their own. Yet hundreds of thousands of women defy apartheid laws to live and work in the urban areas, and therefore suffer continuous harassment and risk arrest and imprisonment. During 1984 3,415 children were imprisoned with their mothers under the pass laws.

Black women are central to the fierce resistance to forced removals. Their tenacity and incredible courage is epitomised by the Crossroads Squatter camp, where 73% of the inhabitants are women. Set up by women who have no rights to live in the Cape Town area, women are in the front line, refusing to give in to armed police thugs with their dogs, teargas, bullets and bulldozers.

Women political prisoners

With increased participation in the struggle against apartheid, the number of women held in indefinite detention without trial, in solitary confinement and long terms of imprisonment has increased. Very little information is available about the conditions under which women political prisoners are held, but the accounts of released women speak of horrific torture and prison conditions even worse than those of their male comrades. Very few letters are allowed through, and hardly any visitors. In protest at these appalling conditions, women have staged hunger strikes and other boycotts, at great cost. Periods of solitary confinement of 2 years are not uncommon.

Apart from the women political prisoners there are many political activists who are continually persecuted, banned and placed under house-arrest. Women like Winnie Mandela, Dr Mamphela Ramphele, Helen Joseph and many, many more. Albertina Sisulu is on trial for High Treason with many other UDF leaders and activists. *Fight Racism!*

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six people. This only encouraged the youth to renewed attacks until a local clergyman succeeded in dissuading them from what he called suicide but what the youth saw as a necessary sacrifice for the majority to attain their freedom.

Similar scenes of murder, followed by renewed mobilisation of the people have taken place throughout the black townships – in Kwa Thema, in Ikageng, in Steynsburg, and in Hawick, Natal.

Apartheid death squads

Just as in Central America, the Philippines and in Ireland, the use of official and unofficial terror 'death-squads' has clearly been given the green light by the apartheid regime to try to crush the popular upsurge in the struggle. Disappearances and unexplained deaths occur almost daily. UDF and COSAS activists are key targets for this terrorism; their homes are petrol bombed, their movements watched. Police don't respond to calls when these incidents take place and later deny all knowledge. Aside from the 274 people due to appear in court in July alone on political charges, many others have disappeared; some later found dead, others still unaccounted for. On 5 July a 13 year old boy was killed in police custody in Cape Town. He had never been charged. Two white women, who made a protest at the Government offices in Pretoria were arrested and charged.

Most sinister of all, on 23 June, three days before the murders of the COSAS youth in Duduza, a hit list was reported by a group of activists who had captured an assassin following the murder of a youth activist. The assassin told them that the hit list had been drawn up by police and businessmen in the township. It included the names of COSAS leaders, one of whom was seriously injured in the explosions which killed the four students only three days later. He has since disappeared along with the friend who set off to drive him to hospital on the night of the murders.

Similar explosions took place killing activists 'wanted' by police on Tsakane and in KwaThema, all in the East Rand. Another hit list, naming Bishop Tutu

Fight Imperialism! salutes all these women who are sacrificing everything for the struggle. We remember all those who have been killed in police detention and those murdered by apartheid terrorism – Ruth First, Jeanette and Katryn Schoon, Jabu Nzima. We urge all our readers to write to the ANC Women's Section, PO Box 38, 28 Penton Street, London N1 9PR, to find out more about material and other assistance we can provide.

The women of South Africa have a message for the boers:

Wathint' abafizi
Wathint' imbokodo,
Uzokufa!

– Now you have touched the women, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed!

Ruby Khan

BRITISH BANKS FUND APARTHEID

On 3 July End Loans To South Africa (ELTSA) published its latest report analysing all known loans to South Africa in the period June 1982 to December 1984. The report reveals the full extent of British banks' collaboration with apartheid.

Out of a total of \$4,244 million worth of loans, British financial institutions provided \$1,958 million – a massive 46% of all such loans. One British bloodsucker alone, merchant bank Hill Samuel, provided \$1,400 million – being the largest single lender to apartheid. Two other British banks appear in the top 20: Hambros (\$843 million) and Schroder Wagg (\$799 million).

This money poured into South Africa finances military spending, the illegal occupation of Namibia; sanctions busting; and the internal terror apparatus. Who can now dispute that British imperialism is, indeed, the major world backer of the racist apartheid state?

Terry O'Halloran

and other leaders of non-violent protest in South Africa, has also been uncovered. This one was drawn up by 'tycoons'. Such lists can only be compiled and acted on with the aid of apartheid stooges – which explains the people's actions in attacking and revengeing themselves upon black policemen, businessmen and councillors. Police masked or in balaclavas, attack people in their homes, at funerals, in the street – masked police jeer and sing as mothers prepare their sons for burial.

Umkhonto we Sizwe – Spear of the Nation

The peoples' resistance and anger has been matched by a rise in armed action against the regime. The ability of Umkhonto to mount over 13 armed attacks in the six weeks of late May and June proves that the struggle is generated from within South Africa itself, and rooted in the popular struggle for freedom and justice. Umkhonto has successfully attacked police and SAI bases, power stations, fuel depots, water pipeline, the Ntaalia Development Board and, on the day of Andre Raditsela's funeral, successfully carried out a daring attack on the Commissioners Court and the Court Messenger's offices.

Hand in hand with the upsurge of the black mineworkers struggle for decent pay and conditions, Umkhonto has successfully attacked the head offices Anglovaal and AngloAmerican – after the sacking of at least 16,000 miners and their forced deportation to the bantustans. The black South African NUM members are successfully organising more and more of the miners who produce more than 45% of apartheid's overseas earnings. This is despite the murder of more than 26 by police this year alone for taking part in peaceful demonstrations. The miners have now decided by ballot on strike action throughout the gold, silver and platinum mines.

Despite death squads, police terror, detention, show trials and torture, youth, the workers and people of South Africa are continuing to show the world that they demand their freedom and they demand it now!

Maggie Mellon

Puppets installed

The Multi-Party Conference 'transitional government of national unity' came into being on 17 June. Botha appointed each of the 8 ministers and 67 Assembly members. There were no elections; Botha knew that SWAPO would win hands down. The new Cabinet ministers will get paid £30,000 a year (average income in Namibia is £80 a year) for forming their anti-SWAPO regime. SWAPO's defiant rally in Katutura township was smashed up by the Koevoet military police who used armoured vehicles, rubber bullets and tear gas to disperse the 6,000 crowd.

The MPC puppets inherit an economy in shambles because it has been sucked dry by imperialism. Gross domestic product has declined for 5 of the last 6 years. The puppets will have no control over foreign affairs or defence, which remain in Pretoria's grip. There are at least 40,000 troops in the northern border region, and once again the racists have invaded Angola. The war costs Pretoria £450,000 a day.

5 Tory MPs attended the inauguration ceremony for Botha's puppets – expenses paid by South Africa. Britain refuses to endorse the Commonwealth statement demanding sanctions until there are free elections in Namibia. Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe told SWAPO President Dr Sam Nujom that sanctions would not be effective, and Britain will talk with the puppet regime. British imperialism is denying a negotiated democracy for the Namibian people,

and it is Britain as much as South Africa which is responsible for their sufferings.

Andy Goddard

NYATI JOHN POKELA

FRFI learned with sadness of the death of comrade Nyati John Pokela in hospital in Zimbabwe on the weekend of 30 June/1 July.

Comrade Pokela was the chairperson of the Central Committee of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and a founder member of the PAC. He spent 13 years incarcerated in the notorious Robben Island. Following his release in 1980 he joined the PAC's external headquarters in Dar es Salaam.

FRFI sends its condolences to the family, friends and comrades of comrade Pokela, a lifelong fighter against apartheid.

Anti-Apartheid or Anti-Action?

In the last month, whilst the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa has escalated yet again, the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) in Britain has poured as much energy into sectarian attacks on City of London Anti-Apartheid Group, its supporters and FRFI supporters, as it has on the struggle against apartheid. This is not an accident. It is part of a political campaign to ensure that the AAM remains under the control of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) – in particular its *Morning Star* wing – and the British Labour Party.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has repeatedly claimed that it is a broad 'church' which, it says, City Group aims to narrow. Yet its campaigning over the last month – both against City Group and against apartheid – has revealed the opposite.

Sanctions against apartheid

Both the June issue of *Anti-Apartheid News* and the *Morning Star* have recognised that Britain stands increasingly alone in its failure to impose sanctions. The *Morning Star* of 17 June admitted that 'Even Reagan has taken stronger action than Britain against South Africa...'. With the passing of the sanctions bill by an overwhelming majority in the US Senate on 11 July, Britain's support for apartheid is ever more transparent. What neither newspaper chooses to examine is why Reagan has been forced onto the defensive on the question of apartheid, yet Thatcher can get away with open support for the regime.

The answer, of course, is not Thatcher's 'stubbornness' (*AA News*) or her allegiance to international capitalism (*Morning Star*), neither of which distinguishes her from Reagan. The real issue is the pressure which has been put on Reagan by a broad anti-apartheid campaign in the USA led by black people who have campaigned for the last nine months, on the streets, outside the consulates, embassies, banks, and who have won the support of wide sections of the US population. We should compare this to what is happening in the 'broad church' of the British AAM.

Following the US example, the British AAM has worked hard behind the scenes to introduce a 10-minute-rule Bill in Parliament calling for sanctions, proposed by Richard Caborn MP – a leading member of the AAM. The AAM knows that this Bill does not stand a chance of being passed. What the British AAM ruled out – and what is a vital ingredient of the success in the USA – is that a campaign needs large numbers of people determined enough to challenge collaboration with apartheid, in action. Without the campaign, Richard Caborn's Bill is not even a pale shadow of its US counterpart. The British AAM does not want a campaign on the streets of Britain against collaboration with apartheid, nor does it want such a campaign to be led by those who would give it a determined character. In reality the AAM's 'church' is not 'broad' but empty.

The 'annual demonstration'

At this year's demonstration (we can hardly expect another) Neil Kinnock, leader of the British Labour Party, was given star billing: 'the first leader of the opposition to speak at an AAM demonstration since 1963' (*AA News*) and 'Yesterday's major London demonstration was a magnificent message to the racists and Thatcher alike. Neil Kinnock's commitment was welcome' (*Morning Star*). But this year's march was one third of the size of last year's demonstration against Botha's visit – a fact which neither the *Morning Star* nor *AA News* cares to tackle. For them the biggest coup was that Neil Kinnock graced the platform, despite the fact that every Labour leader since the Second World War has scabbed on the anti-apartheid struggle, and Neil Kinnock

scabbed on the striking miners. The only other British political parties given speaking rights at the demonstration were the CPGB and a minor speaker from the Liberal Party Race Relations Committee.

Having pinned their colours to Neil Kinnock, *AA News* remained silent about who marched on the demonstration, and the *Morning Star* resorted to lies: '[the demonstration] also included large numbers of student and trade union banners as well as those from Labour and Communist Party organisations'. In reality a march of less than 25,000 people can hardly be said to show real commitment to the struggle against apartheid by either the trade unions, the Labour Party or the Communist Party. Despite all the appeals, exhortations and plain wishful thinking ('All industrial and economic contacts with the apartheid state must be stopped. And that is in the power of British workers' *Morning Star*) the British trade union movement did not support the demonstration.

It is ironic that the *Morning Star*, which would offer commitment to anti-apartheid struggle in its pages, is not wanted by the AAM. A scab Kinnock is unlikely to attract the oppressed, the unemployed, black people or homeless youth to such a demonstration when he is so openly bidding for popularity amongst the middle classes and well-off workers by spitting on the struggles of the poor. Even if the AAM can't win these labour aristocrats away from their TVs and their Sunday lunch, it will bolt the door against black people and the oppressed and make do with an empty church. The AAM's attacks during the last month on City Group, FRFI or indeed almost anyone showing signs of life, only prove this point.

In Scotland – the Scottish AAM Committee and Edinburgh AA Group (both CPGB dominated) viciously attacked FRFI comrades who joined a broad organising committee for a rally against apartheid (see separate report on this page).

At the last Scottish AAM Committee, its Secretary John Nelson (CPGB) argued against the inclusion of Glasgow Anarchists in a campaign outside the South African consulate on the grounds that Glasgow Anarchists 'would not be under our control' – CPGB control that is.



On Friday/Saturday 12/13 July City Group were outside the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square for a 24 hour picket – remembering the words of Denis Goldberg of the ANC, speaking at the National AAM demonstration on 16 June – 'Let that building there stand empty until an ambassador of all the people of South Africa will take up residence there!'

In Haringey, following a very successful party to celebrate 1 year since David Kitson was released from apartheid prison and to mobilise for the national demonstration, AAM leadership supporters packed the next meeting of the local group in order to attack the organisers of the party. After all, the party had raised more than £200 for anti-apartheid funds and a great time had been had by all – including the black leader of the council, Bernie Grant. Dominic Tweedie, well known *Morning Star* sales organiser, led the sectarian attack.

In Wakefield a local member of the New Communist Party (closely allied to the *Morning Star*) attended the inaugural meeting of the local Anti-Apartheid Group in order to attack FRFI, City

Group and indeed anyone who wanted to do anything. He attempted to take over the chair of the meeting, block all suggestions for activities and advised the meeting that the local group should not be formed until September because now is not the right time to form a local group!

In Sheffield a motion by Sheffield Asian Youth Movement was blocked by Richard Caborn (of Sanctions Bill fame) and Paul Blomfield (CPGB) on the grounds that alliances with anti-racist groups would dilute the anti-apartheid struggle!

In London the AAM boycotted a meeting organised by radical publishers to discuss exporting books to South Africa – why? – because they weren't consulted before the meeting was arranged (see separate report).

And in South Africa a report appeared in a radical magazine called *Work In Progress* attacking City of London Anti-Apartheid Group and the RCG, penned by an unnamed 'London correspondent'. The article, as is to be expected, was

APARTHEID STINKS

The Dragoon Suite of the Royal Horseguards Hotel in Whitehall stank when Dennis Worrall, apartheid ambassador to Britain, sat down as guest of honour at a Foreign and Commonwealth Writers' Association lunch on Wednesday 10 July. City AA activists, tipped off about this disgusting event, had got into the hotel and down to the reception itself. Just as the party sat down to lunch the stink went up – stink bombs on the table, stink bombs in the drinks room, stink bombs in the hall! We held the dining room doors open and denounced the event: 'While 260 in every 1,000 children in the Bantustans die of starvation you are sitting down in honour of their murderers! Release Nelson Mandela! Victory to the ANC!'

Worrall did not deny the charge of murder; Worrall sat in his seat while the stench of apartheid filled the room. Meanwhile a picket outside the hotel had already alerted the apartheid-loving writers that their guest of honour was exposed. They and Worrall had had to enter the hotel past the noisy and defiant picket – only to find that the picket was in the hotel as well!

City AA is not stuck outside the apartheid embassy when the apartheid ambassador goes out to his friends. Apartheid-lovers beware! City AA is everywhere! Maggie Mellon

free copies of the *Morning Star* to be sent to jailed miners, for a list of jailed miners to be printed weekly, and for support for Sinn Féin. Both sides are of course equally united in attacking anti-imperialists in the AAM. With such allies, the AAM is only too happy to devote its diminishing resources to a campaign against activists in its own movement.

This unholy Triple Alliance is being challenged all round the country. Anyone who wants to take action against apartheid first of all has to challenge the manoeuvres, skulduggery and lies of the AAM leadership and its supporters. Unfortunately for the AAM, City Group has not diminished but has grown from strength to strength. Its influence is growing because it takes its inspiration from the struggle being fought by the peoples of Southern Africa, not from the scabbing activities of the British Labour Party and CPGB.

Carol Brickley

Edinburgh rally

Over 200 people filled the Pleasance Theatre in Edinburgh on Friday 21 June to hear David Kitson, ex-political prisoner in South Africa, and many other speakers including Carol Brickley, convenor of City of London AA Group and member of FRFI Editorial Board. Unity, democracy against apartheid, racism and imperialism: these were the themes of the rally.

The launch of the rally initiative and its organisation by a committee of FRFI, Peace campaigners, anarchists, Labour Party members and progressives caused a storm. The local AA group was the first to react. Despite notification of David Kitson's agreement to speak at the rally and an invitation to join the open and democratic organising committee, this hermetic group of closet communists insisted on styling the rally an FRFI/RCG event and quickly worked out how best to scupper the event. Speakers and sponsors – District Council, Chile Democratico, Ron Brown MP, Eleanor McLaughlin – were approached with slander and insinuation. RAAPOC was 'pretending to be the AAM', was 'an RCG front'.

Not until the last minute, though, did they withdraw their own speaker. This only after writing to David Kitson to query his credentials to speak without their say-so. In Glasgow, John Nelson of the Glasgow AA Group and AA Scottish Committee attacked both David Kitson and the RCG – the former as an alleged 'expelled member' of the ANC, us for being 'highly disciplined', supporting the struggle for Irish self-determination, and for daring to

criticise the Labour Party and Communist Party behaviour in the AAM.

The rally was a great success. People came from the dole queue leaflettings; from Labour Party branches; one group of school students travelled from Glasgow; the local SWP branch sent up to the platform a message of support and £5 donation.

Unfortunately the spite of those who dominate the local AA group motivated them to organise a reception for Dennis Goldberg at 48 hours notice – a fellow prisoner with David Kitson for 20 years – on the same evening as the rally. The result? Only 20 people in a shabby back room of the Trades Council.

The demonstration in Glasgow the next day was a miserable and insulting affair. Less than 500 marched through the quietest streets possible to a rally to hear: 1. The SNP call for British (?) troops to go out to Southern Africa to 'protect' the Frontline States, 2. the Scottish Immigrant Labour Council (tiny CP front) declare that racism in Britain was NF slogans in council estates and 3. the STUC speaker patronisingly assert that the South African people are too oppressed to be properly organised.

Those who involved themselves in the successful RAAPOC event are still together – some have joined the Edinburgh AA to make sure, as Carol Brickley of FRFI demanded at the Rally, that the Anti-Apartheid Movement is a people's movement.

Lorna, Maggie and Stuart

Radical publishers against apartheid

Following GLAIR's (Gays and Lesbians against Apartheid, Imperialism and Racism) exposure that Gay Men's Press was exporting books to South Africa, 40 people attended a 6 July conference organised to discuss the export of 'radical' books to South Africa. The event was boycotted by the AAM Executive, who attacked the organisers for daring to call a conference without 'prior consultation', and demanded that it be 'postponed'. The AAM's refusal to participate allowed left publishers who export to South Africa – Gay Men's Press, Zed, Verso, Pluto and others – to absent themselves.

The majority of participants expressed anger that the AAM Executive refused to take a lead on this question. City AA and FRFI supporters argued that this was quite natural, given the AAM's unwillingness to endorse anything which upsets its placid existence, and that the main reason for the AAM's abdication of responsibility was that the issue was brought to the public's attention by GLAIR, which includes supporters of City AA and FRFI.

Significantly, there was one vociferous defender of the AAM EC – a Euro 'Communist' Party member Paul Hegarty. Justifying GMP, he claimed that profit is regarded as a dirty word by many and that GMP was only earning wages for its workers by its trade. He

also, astonishingly, argued that 'we' should circulate 'ideas' as widely as possible in South Africa in order to 'change attitudes'.

These spurious defences for breaking sanctions were nailed effectively by many participants. Only arrogant imperialist chauvinism could argue that 'our' 'ideas' must be circulated among the black masses in South Africa. They are actually making a revolution, while in Britain there is hardly any effective campaigning against apartheid and British collaboration with it. It was agreed to organise a further conference to discuss a campaign to end the book trade with South Africa.

Eddie Abrahams

FIGHT RACISM IN BRIEF

● Honeyford Out! The fight goes on...

The campaign to rid Drummond Middle School of its racist headmaster Raymond Honeyford is under attack. While the Drummond Parents Action Group, supported by Bradford Council's Labour Group, continues to demand Honeyford's sacking, a four day enquiry by the school's governors has demanded his reinstatement. Four of the school governors boycotted the enquiry describing it as a 'charade' when it refused to hear the views of parents and pupils at the school. The chief instigator of the campaign to defend racist teachers, and Honeyford in particular, is the National Union of Head Teachers. Terrified of the consequences for themselves should this racist be sacked, they have defended him throughout. They have threatened to sue Bradford Council for issuing a memo describing Honeyford as a 'known racist' and have gone to the High Court in an attempt to prevent his sacking. This latest move came the day before Honeyford was to face Mr Norman Rober, the assistant education director in charge of middle schools in Bradford, for a final settlement of the whole question.

Jenefer Thomas

● Pedro Galleguillos Defence Campaign

On Saturday 29 June, the Pedro Galleguillos Defence Campaign held a national demonstration and rally in Manchester to support Pedro's right to remain in Britain and be granted political asylum. Pedro is a 24 year old Chilean and an active opponent of the fascist Pinochet regime. Given the revival of death squad activity and repression in Chile, Pedro's deportation could mean his death. David Waddington, Minister of State for the Home Office, is due to make a decision at any moment. Write to the Home Office, Queen Anne's Gate, demanding Pedro's right to stay.

● Deportation could mean certain death for Ugandan

The British state has total disregard for the lives of black people. Leon Brittan has decided to deport a Ugandan refugee Ms Rose Alaso and her son to Uganda despite the fact that her father, her brother, his wife and two children have already been killed by the fascist British backed Obote regime. Amnesty International recently issued a report cataloguing the most horrifying torture and barbarism which takes place under Obote, including starving prisoners to the extent they have to drink and eat their own urine and excreta to survive. British government declarations of 'humanitarian' and 'compassionate' exercise of immigration laws are obscene camouflage for racist murder.

The campaign can be contacted at Friends of Rose Alaso, Box W, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds 2

Donations should be made to: Women's campaign against deportations at the same address.

● More racism in the name of sex equality

The British government's determination to defend the racist immigration controls knows no bounds. Last month, the European Court of Human Rights found Britain guilty of sex discrimination for refusing entry to husbands and fiancées of women resident in Britain. In a pretence of complying with the ruling, Leon Brittan has announced he will tighten conditions for entry of wives and fiancées thus making the law apply equitably to both men and women. In changes to be laid before Parliament on 15 July, 17,000 women are each year to be subjected to the same racist checks that apply to men. So outrageous is this move that even David Steel, Liberal leader, condemns it as 'equality of misery and discrimination' while an SDP spokesman attacked the move as 'a base attack on family life'. The Labour Party, while also condemning the proposed changes, has characteristically limited its 'opposition' to words alone.

NEWHAM 7 COURT VERDICT

The trial of the Newham 7 ended on Friday 5 July. After 13 hours' deliberation, the jury found Parvaiz Khan, his brother Zafar, Mohammed Hanif and Bahadur Khan guilty of affray. The judge reserved sentence pending social reports. The four were however cleared of conspiracy to damage property and possession of offensive weapons. The remaining 3 of the Newham 7 defendants walked out to applause from their supporters, cleared of all charges. In line with the racist character of the entire trial, the judge fined three white racists, found guilty of common assault, £100 each and whitewashed their 'character' saying:

'I accept that all three of you acted out of character, in a loss of temper in circumstances that were perhaps understandable.'

From the first day, the court and the police were determined to get convictions and criminalise black self-defence against racist attack. When the judge insisted that the 7 Asian defendants stand in the same dock as 3 white racists; when he rejected arguments that black people should be adequately represented on the jury; when he refused to order an immediate investigation into the vicious assault on defendant Parvaiz Khan by 15 prison officers - there could be no doubt of his intentions. For the judge and the police, this was a trial not about self-defence but 'gang warfare'.

The police, along with the judge, spared nothing in their efforts to obtain convictions - lies, contradictions, half-truths and judge's interruptions were characteristics of the trial. Indeed one of the counsels for the defence, Mr Rudy Narayan, at one point refused to continue questioning Detective Sergeant Gillie, saying he was objecting 'as a senior practitioner to the way a judge interrupts my cross-examination in this manner'. The judge was merely attempting to protect the police from too much exposure! A main police witness, under



cross-examination, broke down and confessed she was a police agent. Maria Isen who worked in a Newham Wimpey

ORGANISING AGAINST DEPORTATIONS

On 9 June, a GLC conference against deportations was held in County Hall, London. The organising committee was set up by the GLC's anti-deportation group together with the Migrant Resource Centre, Migrant Action Group, Campaign Against Racist Laws (CARL) and the British Council for Refugees. Jeremy Corbyn MP and Ken Livingstone also attended and spoke. But what was really promising was that over 200 people attended including nearly 50 representatives of campaigns from all over the country.

Those present showed a new mood of determination to fight deportations and the immigration laws with a broad campaign based on democratic rights and outside the control of local or central government bodies. It was felt that individual campaigns must link up to create a new political force in the country. This is not just so that technical and legal advice may be quickly and easily passed on as soon as it is needed,

although it is very important to establish such a network of support. It was also felt that the anti-deportation movement should be built in the communities and reflect working class involvement. The principles of such a campaign would be clear, it would be an active campaign against all immigration and internal controls, 'because they are racist, sexist, anti-working class and deprive people of their human rights.'

Clearly, any individuals or organisations that can support these basic principles should be encouraged to help build such a campaign. This conference represented the silent voices and unknown names of the 50 black people who are deported from Britain every week. It is our task to make the campaign a living, fighting reality. Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! will be adding its energies to ensure that the hopes of the 9 June conference become a living force, a mass campaign to push this racist, inhuman legislation off the law books of Tory and Labour administrations alike. Ken Hughes

Bar was recruited some time before the arrest of the 7 - not to gather information about numerous racist attacks, but to spy on the local Asian youth. During her testimony, she also admitted to having to 'refresh' her memory with her police contact before the trial in order to recall the names of the Asian defendants she had 'identified' from photographs. This was only the starkest example of police operations to undermine and criminalise black self-defence. There were numerous others exposed during the trial.

Determined to 'nail' the Asian youth was one DC Bonzuyk from Forest Gate Police Station. He identified Zafar and Parvaiz Khan as 'elements in the community out to stir up trouble.' Police officers could not however agree which of the two had 'admitted' that pieces of wood in their car were needed in case of fight. PC Andrew Stanner ascribed this 'frompancy' to the fact that 'they look alike, they are brothers!' Yet one has a bushy 'Afro' haircut and a moustache with a slight build, the other has short hair with blond streaks and no facial hair! The catalogue of such inci-

dents appeared endless. Some police officers claimed there were 50-60 Asian 'marching like an army' to attack a racist pub from which attacks are organised. Others claimed only 15-20. M police claimed there were no white racists in the incident in April 1984 outside the pub which led to the seven's arrest. Some however stated there were equal numbers of Asians and whites.

Lies, distortions, contradictions were not sufficient for the police. James Wood, a counsel for the defence, covered PC Mark Enoch rifling defence files during a lunch break while his colleague PC Paul Kemp kept guard. The suffered no reprimand or censure for this gross interference in the course of justice!

Outside the Old Bailey the police kept up their constant attacks on pickets organised by the Newham 7 Defence Campaign. In the most serious attack, Wednesday 3 July, the police arrested 21 people after picketers refused to disperse from their planned 12 hour vigil. A young black woman assaulted by police has since been herself charged with assaulting them!

Black people and anti-racists were scornfully dismiss the post trial statement by Newham police Commander Jones that:

'The police performance in dealing with racial incidents means that the residents of Newham do not need to take the law into their own hands.'

The evidence of the trial itself, assaults on the pickets, the mounting and vicious racist attacks in Newham and police collusion in these proves that black self-defence is not only not an offence, it is a necessity.

Keinde Olawale

APARTHEID IN MANCHESTER

Chief Inspector John Clinton has openly admitted to operating a system of apartheid in the middle class suburb of Manchester - Wilmslow.

Speaking at a local parish council meeting he said that police picked black people and those with Scottish accents. He went on to say that:

'We do not have black people living in the town, so it is obvious they are strangers... there is nothing in Wilmslow to attract people from Moss Side except houses'

What about black people with friends in Wilmslow? Black people who want to travel through Wilmslow? Is it by coincidence that Wilmslow Rugby club are planning a tour of South Africa? There have already been many protests against this racist by MPs, the NCCL, churches, (churches in Moss Side have organised coaches of black people to go to Wilmslow) and others. There will more.

Chris Fraser

Swann Report

RACISM IN EDUCATION

The Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups. HMSO Bookshops. £24

Considering that it took over six years to produce this heavy volume weighing over a kilo, it is a remarkably empty vessel. It does not once use the word 'racism' but speaks of 'that most pernicious form of negative prejudice in our society'.

Educationalists, teachers, magistrates, psychologists and workers in the race relations industry all helped to produce the report, but how many pupils and parents were involved is not made clear.

What they have produced is a statement of wishful thinking that they have plucked out of the air of institutionalised racism. As the *Times Educational Supplement* headline put it, 'Swann asks schools to help change attitudes'. It states, 'The education of the Nation's children is a matter of profound importance, and the hopes and expectations of parents, children and minority communities are, or should be, crucial considerations in their own right.'

Beautiful words and pious hopes in a period of all-round attack on working class living standards, cuts in the education budget and social services and rising youth unemployment.

Achievement and under-achievement are looked at closely. These are a few of the many statistics in the report.

● In all CSE and GCE O Level exams, 6% of West Indians obtained 5 or more higher grades compared with 17% of Asians and 19% of all other leavers.

● At A Level 5% got one or more passes compared with 13% Asians and 13% other leavers.

● 1% of West Indians went to univer-

sity compared with 4% of Asians and 4% others.

The committee concluded that IQ is not a significant factor in underachievement, and says, 'The often quoted gap between West Indian and white IQ scores is sharply reduced when account is taken of socio-economic factors' (class). But in addition to the old truth that working class children achieve less than those of the middle class, the report detects an 'element of social and economic deprivation over and above that of the white majority' that is experienced by all the minorities looked at by Swann, the Chinese, Italian, Greek and Turkish Cypriot, Vietnamese, Travellers and Liverpool black. Lord Swann's committee cannot bring itself to use the word but it is called racism.

The report puts forward multi-culturalism as the desirable way to integrate minority children. What the report does not say is that racism and racist attitudes must be fought within the education system. A truly anti-racist curriculum would place democratic rights at its centre. School students would learn the importance of fighting against the deportation threats that hang over the heads of so many of their fellow pupils. For surely, while 50 black people a week are deported from Britain, the immigration laws must be a major threat to the

peace of mind and educational achievement of thousands of schoolchildren.

As well as this, the decision as to whether communities and individuals choose to see themselves as Black British or as a national minority should be the right of those involved.

The police, whose record as racists stands revealed for all to see, would be kept out of schools. Students would mobilise protests against police harassment out of school also. Racist and fascist teachers and pupils would be isolated and ejected from the school community.

British responsibility for maintaining the South African racist regime would be of central concern and schools would be effective anti-apartheid areas. In the same way the role of British imperialism in creating the oppressed nations, hunger and poverty of the world would be acknowledged within history and geography studies.

Nevertheless, the tone of this report, its concern 'primarily to change behaviour and attitudes' is an advance on the brutal racist supremacy of British schools in previous years. The recognition that 'Britain is a multi-racial and multi-cultural society and all pupils must be enabled to understand what this means' is a useful statement. It comes from a prestigious committee and gives support to what anti-racist teachers and parents have been victimised for saying for years.

Susan Davidson

URGENT! URGENT! URGENT!...

We need money urgently to pay for our work in support of prisoners.

We send FRFI to 154 prisoners in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland (Six Counties and Twenty-Six Counties), USA, Netherlands and Italy. This costs well over £500 a year.

The Thatcher government has hundreds of millions of pounds to spend on building more prisons to lock up working class and oppressed people. Only you can make sure that we can carry on sending our political material to prisoners and so put up resistance to ruling class repression.

- Pay for a subscription to FRFI for a prisoner
- Pay for a book for a prisoner
- Send a regular monthly donation

Donations, cheques/POs (payable to Larkin Publications) should be sent to: FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

EUSIF RYAN

We reported on the death of black prisoner Eusif Ryan in FRFI 50. Since then more information has emerged. Eusif Ryan was found dead in his punishment block cell on 28 May in Wandsworth prison. According to prisoners, he had frequent fits which were ignored by the prison staff. The latest information which has come to FRFI reveals that on 27 May, during a

visit, Eusif had three fits in the visiting room and the visit had to be ended. Yet he was returned to an extremely smeared punishment cell where he was found dead the following morning.

FRFI is determined to continue collecting and publishing information on Eusif Ryan's death. We appeal to all prisoners who have relevant information to pass it on to us as soon as possible. Terry O'Halloran

WOMEN FIGHT BACK IN HOLLOWAY GAOL

Last month 43 women in Holloway smuggled out a petition and letters detailing the increasing violence and repression against prisoners occurring daily in the prison. The petition is calling for an enquiry into the brutal treatment suffered by an 18 year old, Jacqueline Bestwick who was forcibly dragged by 8 prison officers (POs) in riot gear with shields from the remand wing to the convicted prisoners wing. Prisoners who saw this incident at lunchtime on Saturday 15 June say that she was badly beaten up in the process, was covered in bruises and had a black eye. She was forcibly stripped by the officers in her cell.

The organisation, Women in Prison, was contacted by a woman PO at Holloway who said that Jacqueline 'had been badly beaten up by male Prison Officers.' The Home Office has denied this, but women in Holloway have said that male POs are being used with increasing frequency against the women.

In response to this attack, one of many in the last few months, 26 women began a protest. They smashed up furniture and fittings in one room and barricaded themselves in dormitories. One woman was forcibly removed from her cell when she barricaded herself in and the next day women threw lighted sheets out of the dormitory windows and the fire brigade had to be called in.

The smuggled letters give details of continual brutality and repression. Women are being locked up 24 hours a day for months on end with association allowed only once a week. A young woman was seen in her cell with chunks of her hair missing and her face bruised and puffy. She shouted to prisoners that she had been beaten up.

More information this month has further exposed the barbaric conditions in C1 wing, the so-called psychiatric wing at Holloway (see FRFI 50). A report by two MPs describes low levels of daylight in the cells, no daylight in the corridors and communal areas, depressing and claustrophobic atmosphere, drab colours and low ceilings. Charles Irving MP said that the wing was '...the greatest disaster in the last 100 years in prison design...'

'The London Programme' (London Weekend TV) on 28 June was devoted to an exposure of C1. They interviewed Dr John Wilkins who was a psychiatrist at Holloway from 1982 to 1985. He said of the wing that it '...provoked self mutilation, aggression and violence...' and is 'one's idea of bedlam...hell is an adequate description...' He describes the cells as unhygienic and filthy. He told of a case when he saw a woman

hanging in her cell but was not allowed to go and help her until the POs arrived and said that women are punished for self mutilation by putting them in strip cells which, he said, made the incidence of self mutilation far more likely.

Women who had formerly been held in Holloway told of the very distressing screams and cries of women in C1. Carol Strang, former prisoner, slept with her radio on to hide the noise. A north London teacher described how on her first night in Holloway she was put in C1 in a punishment cell where the mattress was covered in menstrual blood. She was given Largactyl twice a day and began 'hallucinating', hearing noises and 'lost track of reality'. She says that when she went to Holloway she was '95% alright...in C Wing I went completely raving mad...it took months to make a recovery.'

75 per cent of prisoners in Holloway are on remand and after trial 30% are given bail, 20% go to hospital, 30% are dismissed and only 20% are imprisoned, as one doctor says, because they are 'not suitable for treatment.'

Dr Wilkins warned that unless action is taken on C1 there will be 'a dramatic increase in self mutilation...' that this is not a passing epidemic as the Home Office maintains, but a daily, regular occurrence.

The women in Holloway have also warned of further protests against the brutality in the prison. In one of their letters they say '...This must be stopped before another "Winson Green" tragedy arises when an inmate was found in a locked cell, beaten to death...' we '...demand an immediate inquiry...' we '...will not be held responsible for our further subversive action...'

**Close down C1 Wing
Victory to the women in
Holloway prison**

Alexa Byrne

Prison Deaths

Three recent deaths in British prisons expose once again the criminal negligence that passes for medical care; a brutal disregard for prisoners' lives; and the lethal consequences of Leon Brittan's parole policies.

Brixton deaths

On Wednesday 3 July two inquests were heard at Southwark Coroner's Court into deaths in Brixton prison. They were presided over by Dr David Vernon Forster. This man displayed complete contempt for the rights of prisoners. With his bizarre facial gestures, his snapping jaws and his constantly flapping arms, Forster resembled some malignant flying creature hovering over corpses.

Patrick Joseph O'Neill

On 13 May Irish prisoner Patrick O'Neill was found hanged in his cell by his cellmate Bernard Smith. At the inquest Bernard testified that O'Neill had told him and the prison doctor that he intended to commit suicide. The doctor replied, said Smith, 'Anyone who says that doesn't do it.' O'Neill's clearly stated intention to commit suicide was ignored. And so he hanged himself. Coroner Forster treated Smith's evidence with insult, saying that Smith was 'hardly a master of articulation' and ignored it in his summing up. Forster 'forgot' to remind the jury about Smith's crucial evidence that Brixton prison doctor had been told of O'Neill's inten-

tion to kill himself and did nothing about it. The verdict was suicide. No doubt Forster thought this was good enough for Patrick O'Neill who was doubly damned being not only a prisoner but also Irish.

Keith Hicks

The next case was Keith Hicks who died in status epilepticus in his Brixton hospital wing bed on the night of 12/13 March. Keith Hicks had been epileptic since the age of 17. He was 38 when he died. In January he became seriously ill from recurrent epileptic seizures and was rushed to Kings College Hospital close to death.

Even at the inquest, more than six months after this episode, prison medical staff claimed that the January incident was caused by bleeding in the brain and not epilepsy. This was despite the hospital's clear diagnosis that Hicks had suffered from recurrent seizures. On his return to Brixton he should have been under close medical supervision and any recurrence of seizures should have received immediate attention. In fact he was allowed to die.

In March Hicks began to have more fits. Yet no blood tests were taken to ensure that he had the required level of Phenytoin - an anti-convulsant drug - in his blood. Examination of his body showed that his Phenytoin level had fallen to 5mg per litre of plasma whereas, according to Dr Peter Fenwick, the therapeutic level for this drug is 10-20mg per litre. In fact, Mrs Dorothy Hicks, Keith's mother, testified that Keith had told her that he was not receiving any treatment for his epilepsy in the period leading up to his death. The prison staff claimed that he was observed every 15 minutes on the night of 12/13 March. Yet they managed not to notice that he was dead until 1am on 13 March.

Forster's contribution to the pursuit of truth was to interrupt repeatedly Edward Fitzgerald's questioning of witnesses; to refuse four times to allow vital medical notes to be produced or important witnesses to be called; and, in his summing up, to refuse to allow the jury to consider a lack of care verdict. When Edward Fitzgerald, representing the family, tried to suggest that lack of care should be put to the jury, Forster abusively shouted at him to sit and be silent. The verdict was misadventure.

Maidstone: Colin Davies

On 16 June Colin Davies killed himself in Maidstone prison. He had just been informed that, as a result of Leon Brittan's attack on parole rights, he would not be eligible for parole for many years. So Colin Davies hanged himself. He is the second known victim of Brittan's vindictive policy. Both deaths are the responsibility of Leon Brittan.

Terry O'Halloran

PETER WARDLAW BEATS CONTROL UNIT

At Peterhead Scottish political prisoner Peter Wardlaw has beaten 16 months of arbitrary political victimisation under Scots Rule 36 ('Good Order and Discipline'). Half this time he has spent in the official punishment block, the rest in B-Hall struggling against the stifling control unit regime, and going on 'no work' protest until let back into 'normal' circulation on 30 April. The prison had attempted to break his resistance by restricting his correspondence to one letter a week and making recreation impossible. They have failed.

Peter describes the mood now in the main prison:

'People just don't like this place any more. Not that they ever really liked it...There is hardly any aspect of it which isn't grumbled about now. The punishment is permanently full, half with long stays, the other half a regular turnover of petty offences. At the wider level there is less and less opportunity for the State to offer the prospect of an early lib for some and their carrot halls are now beginning to bottleneck. It's all building up for the next bout of troubles.'

Underlining the importance of solidarity action, he told FRFI:

'The move back was a wee bit of a victory as they weren't too keen on letting me out again. Obviously it goes right back to the first bit of outside support, among other things, which your organisation initiated and I thank you all for that.'

Peter is now struggling with the European Court of Human Rights which is attempting to ignore his longstanding grievances about censorship, visiting restrictions, and arbitrary detention under Rule 36 particularly in the vicious inhuman cages at Inverness.

Send letters of solidarity to Peter at HM Prison Peterhead, AB4 6YY, and letters of protest to your Euro-MP and the European Court of Human Rights, Strasbourg, France. Paul McKinlay

ALAN REEVE BACK IN SOLITARY

Alan Reeve, a British prisoner who escaped from Broadmoor in 1981, came off a 62 day hunger strike in Scheweningen prison, Holland, on 20 April 1985. Since then details have reached FRFI of his brutal treatment by the Dutch prison authorities - supposedly among the most 'enlightened' in the world - and of his poor physical health. Alan ended his hunger strike after the Dutch Ministry of Justice phoned his lawyer saying that his demands would be met. But almost as soon as Alan came off hunger strike he was thrown back into solitary in B1 - the strictest wing of the segregation unit in Scheweningen.



straight after a long hunger strike. Problems with food together with lack of medical attention means that Alan is in poor shape physically. He is suffering from pains in the chest, and has probably had a few minor heart attacks. He has breathing problems, dizzy spells, headaches and is suffering from losses of memory and concentration. He is suffering partial paralysis of the left side, finds it painful to walk and still cannot write.

Many people joined protests in Holland during the course of Alan's hunger strike. In Amsterdam, everywhere to be seen were graffiti saying 'Alan-Free' and posters saying 'Alan Reeve - Ministry of Justice murder'. Protests included a 500 strong demonstration, a gatecrashing of a live TV quiz show where protestors were allowed to read out a prepared statement of Alan's demands. In another protest 15 people sat on the prison wall refusing to come down; several arrests were made.

The support Alan has won has been a recognition of his courageous struggle for prisoners' rights. FRFI asks all readers to write letters of support to Alan Reeve, B1, Strafgewangenisenz, Pompstationsweg 14, Holland.

Olivia Adamson



POLICE FILE

● Dapper – but not so tall – Commissioner of Metropolitan Police Sir Kenneth Newman appears to have let his, shall we say inadequate stature get the better of him. Before a recent interview on Thames TV with 6ft 4ins newscaster Andrew Gardner the poison dwarf (as he is known to friend and foe alike) demanded a specially high chair on which to perch. This is, we take it, a lesson learned from Alan Ladd, who always required that his female co-stars stood on-set in a specially dug ditch to hide his, shall we say inadequate stature.

● Dirty Tricks in the Courtroom Number 1: James Wood, a counsel for the defence in the Newham 7 trial was most surprised to find one of the prosecution witnesses rifling through a dossier on the defence benches during the Old Bailey lunchtime recess. Even more surprised, we suspect, was PC Mark Enoch, who was the inquisitive witness in question. PC Enoch claimed later in court to have been 'looking at the layout' and 'thought the defence counsel benches were where the jury sat' (!) Meanwhile a PC Paul Kemp kept watch outside the courtroom – said Mr Wood – and made a pretty poor job of it by all accounts.

● Dirty Tricks in the Courtroom Number 2: When a barrister representing 19 defendants – all animal rights protesters on trial at Winchester Crown Court – complained that his client heard two jurors talking to a policeman outside the court, a procession of 23 out of 58 potential jurors came forward to say that they too had been spoken to by this officer. The judge's only option was to dismiss the jurors and delay the case. We can only hope that the hapless constable involved does not have the thousands of government pounds thus wasted deducted from his wages, can we not?

● Determined to retain his starring role in Police File, Alf Parrish, suspended Derbyshire Chief Constable, is making renewed and desperate attempts to obtain early retirement which would, coincidentally, avoid an embarrassing enquiry into why he spent an unauthorised £28,000 on refurbishing his office. Our Alf has put in an application backed by not one, not two, but three eminent physicians to be allowed to retire early (with pension, you understand) on the grounds of 'ill health'.

● Nottinghamshire police are completely baffled as to why three Molotov cocktails were flung (successfully) in the direction of their nice police station in Clifton. Suggestions on a postcard etc. etc.

● Thatcher's Britain (one of a series): A judge apologised 'on behalf of society' (thoughtful of him) to a man he said he had to imprison for two years because no hospital bed was available for him. Terry Best, aged 21, was arrested for burglary and then allegedly assaulted a prison officer while on remand awaiting medical reports. Best was diagnosed as schizophrenic and needing hospital treatment but no hospital accommodation could be found for him. Judge Jones, handing out the sentence, said 'The welfare system is not in a position to look after him. This is a grave reflection on our caring society'. The judge was 'distressed'. How Terry Best feels about it defies the imagination.

Labour fights for middle ground

Despite the Labour Party's confident forecasts of victory in the recent Brecon and Radnor by-election, it was the Liberals who pipped them at the post by 559 votes. The result was a crushing defeat for the Tories, whose 8,000 majority collapsed – from 18,255 in 1983, to 10,631. For Labour, it was their biggest by-election swing for many years in a seat which is not even, after boundary changes, on the list of 120 primary seats that Labour must win to form the next government. There was a very high turnout, with the Liberals getting 36% of the vote, Labour 34% and the Tories, 28%. The Tories have already responded to their defeat by relaxing some of their policies to buy back the votes of the better off. There is more money for certain Tory councils and large cash boosts for some central government schemes in next year's spending plans.

Labour's response will be equally predictable. Their near miss at Brecon and Radnor, a largely agricultural and relatively prosperous constituency, will only encourage their rapid shift rightwards as they fight to win back the middle ground from the Alliance parties. Kinnock's purposeful and violent denunciations of Arthur Scargill's call for renewed industrial action at the NUM Conference and on Tony Benn's Amnesty Bill – both of which can have held little material interest for the Brecon and Radnor voters – was readily orchestrated by the press into the 'Scargill factor'. Kinnock was to blame this 'factor' for losing Labour the election.

But whatever the effect on the voters of the media campaign, the biggest effect will have been on Kinnock himself, who will now redouble his efforts to distance himself from Scargill and Benn. His strategy appears to be 'working'. Labour will increasingly refuse to tarnish its electoral image by supporting the struggles of the poor, the unemployed, the victims of racist laws, or the miners. They have been dropped in favour of hanging on to and winning over the more prosperous sections of the working class and the middle classes.

Olivia Adamson and Dave Hunter

Newman's report

On 12 June Kenneth Newman issued his third annual report on the Metropolitan Police. The emphasis remains on re-organisation of the police as an efficient intelligence-gathering organisation with 'community support' – ie incorporating community 'leaders' into the police – and organised force available for instant deployment. Computerisation has continued. Newman's newly-established district information officers feed low-grade intelligence into a vast computer network to allow 'targeting' of 'trouble spots' – areas where the poor, black, Irish people live. As Newman notes this system enables the police 'to react more speedily to a sudden turn of events' (p70).

The number of consultative committees grew from 9 (1983) to 31 (1984). There are now only 9 out of London's 40 boroughs and outer districts without a consultative committee. These committees serve to provide the police with information and to separate the so-called community leaders from the community.

Four areas with high black and poor populations – Hackney, Brixton, Notting Hill and Kilburn – have been marked out for a 'neighbourhood policing' project. The 'neighbourhood' cop gathers the information and uses it to 'direct police patrols to those parts of the locality where they are most likely to be effective' (pp60/61). These patrols are the District Support Units which cruise the areas permanently.

The neighbourhood watch schemes have expanded enormously from 69 (1983) to a staggering 1,262 with 515 more on the way (p58).

The extent of national police intelligence was revealed in May. The Police National Computer holds 4,974,479 'criminal' names; 3,512,434 fingerprints; details of 349,620 stolen and 'suspect' vehicles; and names of 109,659 missing and 'wanted' persons. The categories 'suspect' and 'wanted' are defined solely by the police and include people 'of long term interest to the police'. In one week in May there were 172,648 accesses into this 'information' (described by the *Police Review*, no less, as including a 'substantial proportion' of 'unsubstantiated bunkum'). The Special Branch, now swollen to 1,249 officers (6

times as many as 20 years ago) has an additional 2.5 million files.

Newman's report also reveals the accelerating attacks on black people in London from the official and unofficial racists. Even his official figures show that racist attacks on black people increased by nearly 20% from 1,277 (1983) to 1,515 (p65). At the time, deportations of Commonwealth citizens, the great majority being black, also rose by 20% from 603 (1983) to 723 (p80).

Terry O'Halloran

Poor Law – Pass Law

The effects of Tory benefit cuts have been revealed this month with terrible clarity.

Norman Fowler's green paper, which proposes massive attacks on the social security system, was published in June without any figures. These were possibly removed at the last minute, when the paper was at the printer's. However, likely results have now been calculated. For example, internal DHSS figures show that of 7.5 million claiming housing benefit, 7 million will be worse off. 1.8 million will lose housing benefit entirely, including 1.2 million pensioners. Fowler plans to abolish all supplementary benefit additions and single payments. 90% of pensioners and 45% of other SB claimants rely on these. The Disablement Income Group show that disabled claimants could lose up to 30% of their benefit as a result.

While taking money from the poor, the Tories plan tax cuts for the rich and a huge boost for finance capital. By abolishing the state earnings related pensions scheme (SERPS) and compelling workers to join private pension schemes, Fowler will guarantee the private sector extra assets worth £200 billion in 50 years time.

Despite a promise to maintain the value of Child Benefit, the annual November up-rating will be way below the inflation rate. With other benefits also falling behind, this represents a cut in real terms of £250 million.

The new board and lodging regulations are starting to bite. Forced to move on after 28 weeks, the young unemployed are becoming homeless and rootless second-class citizens. Since 29 April, as many as 85,000 people have been affected. Destroying the 'Dole on Sea' myth, 70% of those told to move on were in their home area. David Kitson has rightly seen a reflection of the South African Pass Laws.

For some, these cuts cause despair. One young man, on receiving his eviction notice, drank bleach. Another, settled in board and lodging following discharge from a psychiatric hospital, learnt in May that his benefit was cut from £69.50 to £25.75. On 6 June, he was evicted, and 8 June he jumped to his death from a bridge. Others, however, of those thrown onto the streets, are beginning to organise and camps of homeless youth have grown up in several cities.

Dave Burton

No Fixed Abode Campaign

The campaign has been organised by youth who are unemployed and living in bed and breakfast or boarding houses. It has been going for a few months in its fight against the new board and lodging regulations, and has gathered a lot of support. The new board and lodging regulations for under 26s mean: eviction and no place to stay; the loss of your rights to social security, housing benefits; the right to vote; the right to have access to health care and you can end up losing your contacts with friends and family.

The No Fixed Abode Campaign in Manchester, is a picket and camp situated in a car park on Jacksons Row, Deansgate. The picket was started on 22 June and will end on 22 July. At the picket there are 12 unemployed and homeless youth sleeping in tents by night and petitioning 24 hours a day. Many have travelled to meetings throughout the country. There are also campaigns in Liverpool and Newcastle. In Manchester alone 12,000 signatures have been collected in the first 11 days. The campaign has the full support of the Manchester City Council, which has given permission for the youth to camp on Council land, donated £700 and provided regular lunches for the youth on the picket.

Sadly, the campaign has had its bad moments. They have been attacked by fascist scum who called them communists, and singled out the gay and black youth for attack. Some were attacked by Tory student dentists who were later arrested by the police. They have had bottles thrown at

them by the police. They have also been attacked in the press. The Manchester Evening News published an article calling them scroungers living in luxury on the rates saying that the picket should be removed.

When I talked to the young people at this picket/camp, they told me that it would not end there, that they would carry on the fight as long as the government attacked the right of young people. I got a clear message for the parasites in the government, the blind in the press, the provocateurs on the streets to all imperialists:

'If you continue to oppress us, we the youth, black and white, working class youth will unite together once again, like in 1981, but this time the riots will be ten-fold, and there will be blood, flowing in the streets, but unfortunately for you the blood will be yours!'

I would like to thank and support Mags and Terry and all their comrades at the picket and appeal to all comrades reading this article to send donations and support to No Fixed Abode Campaign, c/o 'Shades', 48 Copperas Street, Manchester 4 (061 834 7360) Jama

Ratecapping campaign collapses

Although the billboards still carry the promise of defiance of Government cuts the 'campaign' against ratecapping has all but collapsed. Leading the cowards in the dash to the right was Ken Livingstone, who now agrees with Kinnock that the oppressed and downtrodden will have to wait until the middle-classes are satisfied. Those really affected by the Tories' attack on local services were never invited or encouraged to be part of the campaign against ratecapping and the abolition of the GLC, so Livingstone's defection was the beginning of a landslide. Islington, Camden and Hackney collapsed – and now Lambeth too has gone under with the resignation of one councillor who held the crucial vote which would have given the Council a majority of the vote against setting a 'legal' rate. The defection of one councillor means that the whole opposition to ratecapping can totally collapse, despite the majority of councillors actually being in opposition. Committee-room politics – with or without municipal poster campaigns – do not build the sort of movement necessary to prevent the Government from imposing sanctions on individual councillors without fear of mass protest.



Ted Knight

ANDREW WIARD/REPORT

Liverpool Council, and Edinburgh in Scotland, have still to buckle under. Liverpool councillors have already been warned by Kinnock and the Party's NEC that their support only lasts as long as they keep within legal limits.

Lambeth, the last of London's boroughs to back down, has been embarrassed about revelations on what they actually do with their funds. *New Society* (21 June) investigated 77 of the companies which Lambeth has investments in. They found that out of the 77 companies looked at; 37 had investments in South Africa, 41 investments in military trade, 8 in nuclear power, 25 made political donations – not to the Labour Party! – and five were companies who had won privatisation contracts. The companies investing in South Africa and military trade got the lion's share – over 60%. *New Society* also revealed that none other than Ted Knight personally supervised the buying and selling of these shares in consultation with top City stockbrokers. Maggie Mellon

Gay Pride

An FRFI contingent joined the annual Lesbian and Gay Pride march on 29 June. 10,000 people marched on the largest ever lesbian and gay pride demonstration. A contingent from the Welsh mining communities was on the march to return the support lesbians and gay men gave them during the strike. Their presence demonstrated the importance of support from the lesbian and gay community for others in struggle. Gays and Lesbians Against Apartheid, Imperialism and Racism (GLAIR) showed that they are leading the way towards this end. Throughout the march the FRFI and GLAIR contingents exposed British collaboration with apartheid by shouting slogans calling for Barclays to get out of Southern Africa and the closure of the South African Embassy. We also shouted slogans in support of the Newham 7 and the Republican movement.

Susannah Lloyd

Scabs split NUM

continued from page 1

mean the loss of 50 pits and 50,000 jobs, on top of 25,000 already gone, and will fall most heavily on Scotland, South Wales, the North East and Kent. Most of the closures will take place over the next two years in line with the new Coal Industry Bill which gives the industry two years to make a profit and with the NCB belief that the NUM will be too weak to oppose the cuts during that time.

Arthur Scargill, who has been proved devastatingly correct all along, is still prepared to fight. At the NUM Conference he called for industrial action over wages and closures. This was attacked by scab Kinnock, during the run-up to the Brecon and Radnor by-election, as a 'fantasy'. Tony Benn has introduced an Amnesty Bill into Parliament demanding a pardon for convicted miners. The Bill, supported by only 37 Labour MPs, was described by Leon Brittan as containing 'the morality of the terrorist and the revolutionary'. Kinnock too attacked Benn viciously: 'This Bill cannot be taken seriously by anyone. I cannot even imagine that it was drafted with any serious purpose'. There is no doubt that Kinnock, along with his friends like McGahey and Bolton in the NUM, wants to bury the issue of gaoled miners who are seen as an embarrassment to Labour's electoral chances.

In his opening speech to the NUM Conference Scargill obliquely attacked those, like McGahey and Bolton, who have been orchestrating a public campaign against him. They criticise the failure to hold a national ballot, and the mass picketing which, they claim, alienated 'public opinion'. To them, Scargill said:

'We are involved in a class war and any attempt to deny that flies in the face of reality. Confronted by our enemies' mobilisation, we are entitled, indeed obliged, to call upon our class for massive support.'

But McGahey and Bolton are only concerned to cover up the 'class war' and have fallen in with the 'new realism' of Kinnock and Willis. Their organisation, the CPGB, is now arguing, along with many union leaders, that it is not necessary to oppose ballots just because they are part of Tory law. All active opposition, whether to pit closures, attacks on trade union rights, or the defence of sacked and imprisoned miners, is now seen as jeopardising Kinnock's chances of forming the next government. Thus the attempts multiply to isolate Scargill and what he stands for. But many miners cannot forget Kinnock's treachery. At the Durham miners' gala on 13 July, he was badly heckled and many left when he started to speak. Only a resolute struggle against those disgusting opportunists who cover up for the likes of Kinnock in the NUM, can transform the union into a fighting organisation once again.

Olivia Adamson

The last year was dominated politically by the miners' strike. The striking miners and their communities showed that heroic fighting spirit that characterises the forces of the future. The leading role of the women in the mining communities in defending and sustaining the strike, the new class organisations built in the mining areas and towns and cities for the duration of the strike, the fighting methods of struggle adopted and the recognition of a common political interest with the oppressed fighting imperialism at home and abroad—all justify Scargill's claim that the strike 'brought a new dimension to British politics.'

However if we caught a glimpse of the real potential of the forces of the future we also experienced the tenacity with which those forces of the past will desperately hold their ground. The NUM itself was split with a sizeable minority of more secure, better paid miners, especially in Notts, scabbing on the strike and prepared to use the courts, the media and police protection to undermine the union. The strike was a political threat to the traditional Labour and trade union leadership who were terrified that their carefully built institutions, based on years of treacherous compromise with the ruling class, would be blown apart if the miners' strike was not brought under their control. For this reason, throughout the strike the Labour Party and TUC leadership did everything in their power to dissociate themselves from the militant leadership of the NUM.

Finally during the miners' strike we saw the lengths to which organised state violence and repression would be used to crush any effective and determined opposition to the ruling class. For once it became clear that the opportunist forces—what the media likes to call the 'moderates'—within the NUM and outside of it in the Labour and trade union movement were unable to significantly halt the progress of the strike, the full force of the state, its laws, police, courts and its propaganda mouthpiece, the media, were used against the striking miners. It says a great deal for the courage and determination of the striking miners and their communities that it took twelve months of bitter struggle, with very little support from the organised trade union movement, before the Labour and trade union leaders were able to decisively undermine the strike.

The lessons are all too clear. To emerge and become organised the 'forces of the future' will have to confront and defeat the determined opposition of the 'forces of the past', the opportunists who control the funds and apparatus of the British labour movement. And they must do this before they can effectively take on and defeat a ruling class prepared to go to any lengths to retain its wealth and political power.

Imperialism and opportunism

Any new forces which emerge in the struggle ahead will first of all have to do battle with an old movement which has ceased to represent progress. This is not new in the working class movement but has been a feature of political struggle since the existence of imperialism.

Capitalism in its imperialist phase grew into a system of colonial oppression and financial domination of the majority of the world by a small number of imperialist countries. This domination divided the world into oppressor and oppressed nations. A handful of imperialist countries obtain high monopoly profits out of the brutal exploitation of oppressed peoples worldwide. Out of these super-profits imperialism is able to create and sustain a small privileged and influential layer of the working class in the imperialist countries whose conditions of life isolate it from the suffering, misery and temper of the broad mass of the working class. This privileged layer has a material interest in the continuation of imperialism for it is the source of its economic and political privileges. This layer of the working class, a labour aristocracy, constitutes the social base of opportunism in the working class. Politically this current represents the interest of the ruling class in the working class movement. To protect its own minority interests this layer is prepared to sacrifice the fundamental interests of the working class for an alliance with the ruling class—an alliance directed against the interests of the mass of the working class.

This split in the working class movement between a relatively privileged minority and the mass of the working class was of enormous significance in the period leading up to the First Imperialist World War. The split existed in all the working class movements internationally and was finally consolidated when the main parties of the Second International, including all significant

PEOPLE

SYNDICATION INTERNATIONAL



Speech by David Reed given to the Day School at the Anti-Imperialist weekend 29/30 June 1985



sections of the British labour movement, supported their own ruling classes in the First Imperialist World War.

A number of 'Marxists' who held leading and influential positions in the Second International, in particular Kautsky and Bernstein who were also leaders of the German Socialist movement, chose to defend the interests of the privileged sections of the working class, ignoring the struggles of the broad mass of the working class and oppressed peoples fighting imperialism. During the First World War these leaders and their followers aided their own imperialist ruling class in the conduct of the war. Both Kautsky and Bernstein advanced reactionary positions on colonial policy. They opposed the right of oppressed peoples to self-determination and while critical of the excesses of colonial rule were for the reform of the colonial system, not for its destruction—a so-called 'socialist' colonial policy. Bernstein argued at the Stuttgart Congress of the Second International 1907:

'There can be no question of defending the capitalist colonial policy. All of us are its opponents, the question is merely how we give expression to this opposition... We must get away from the utopian idea that aims at simply leaving the colonies. The final consequences of that view would be to return the United States to the Red Indians. The colonies are there. We must put up with this fact. A certain guardianship of cultured peoples over non-cultured peoples is a necessity, which should also be recognised by socialists... A great part [and here we get the real truth] of our economic system is based on the exploitation of resources from the colonies which the natives would not know what to do with.'

It is a 'utopian' idea to leave the colonies. How often do you hear such words used by so-called socialists and communists today? We hear it all the time about Ireland. The British Communist Party has a similar reactionary position in relation to Ireland. How often do you hear them say that 'we support self-determination for the Irish people but it would be utopian to bring out the troops today. It would be utopian for them to have it today.' It is the same policy, the same position, the same standpoint that Bernstein adopted at the turn of the century.

To go forward the revolutionary sections of the working class were forced to split from such opportunists not just within the working class movements of a particular nation but on an international scale. This split was consolidated after the victory of the socialist revolution in Soviet Russia with the formation of the Third (Communist) International. Communist Parties were formed in many countries including Britain. However the allegiance of the overwhelming majority of working class organisations and political parties in the imperialist

VERSUS STATE

The introduction to our manifesto *The Revolutionary Road to Communism in Britain* points to the divergent and opposing trends developing in the working class movement. It is a confident declaration that new forces will emerge, even here in Britain, which can lay the basis for a totally new and revolutionary working class movement in the future. Its opening sentence expresses that hope in general terms:

'Every severe crisis of a social system brings forward something new. It pushes to the fore those forces which represent the future and shows ever more clearly the bankruptcy of those forces which desperately try to hold on to the past. The present crisis of imperialism is no exception.'(pix)

worst jobs at the worst wages.

If the super-profits obtained from the exploitation of oppressed nations have enabled the imperialists to create a labour aristocracy in the imperialist nations, the use of immigrant labour has served to bolster the position of this aristocracy. Where immigrant labour has been used on a large scale, the majority of the indigenous working class has not yet had to suffer the worst ravages of the capitalist crisis. In times of boom immigrant labour performs the worst-paid jobs, often in the least profitable sectors of private production or in the public sector providing health, transport and other 'welfare state' functions which the state attempts to cheapen. In times of crisis immigrant labour is the first to go, and in some cases is literally forced out of the country. Is it therefore any real surprise that the party which gives organised political expression to the interests of the labour aristocracy in Britain—the Labour Party—has been at the forefront of introducing and administering immigration controls whenever it has been in office? The Labour Party is necessarily racist at home and abroad.

During the period of boom and prosperity there is unlikely to be a sustained political challenge from within the working class, to the influence and power of the labour aristocracy, its organisations and political representatives. Today, however, we are experiencing the most severe political and economic crisis of imperialism since the 1930s. The imperialist crisis has reached a stage where even the mounting super-profits of imperialism wrung from the starvation, poverty and terror imposed on the oppressed peoples of the world are no longer sufficient to bolster the decaying crisis-ridden capitalist system. The imperialists are now forced to take the offensive against the working class in the imperialist countries. Inevitably a conflict of interest will develop between the labour aristocracy and an ever-growing section of an increasingly impoverished working class.

The first impact of the imperialist crisis has meant that whilst conditions for the middle class, sections of well-paid skilled workers and salaried white collar professional and technical workers can still be maintained, and even improved, the security of employment and rising prosperity available to wider sections of the working class in the post-war boom are coming under threat. At the other end of the scale millions are thrown into poverty. These developments mean that the social base of the labour aristocracy is shrinking and therefore its ability to control the whole working class movement is being undermined. The polarisation between the labour aristocracy, desperate to hold on to what it has, desperate to defend its political organisations and institutions, and the growing numbers of poor and oppressed workers is growing wider and wider.

Britain is now a divided nation econo-



Photos: Left, miners build barricades at Orgreave. Above left, confronting police on Black People's Day of Action, 1981. Above, attack on a British Army armoured car in Ireland.

mically, socially and politically. The effects of the imperialist crisis are being manifested at every level of political life. Perhaps the most decisive aspect of this crisis so far is that the growing number of jobless and oppressed in Britain have no political representation amongst the major political parties. As the oppressed have expressed their anger against growing poverty and oppression—from the 1981 uprisings of black and white youths to the miners' strike 1984-5—so every major political party, as well as most of the British left, have distanced themselves from their struggles. And it has been this development that has paved the way for the Thatcher government's wholesale attack on democratic rights and freedoms in Britain.

The 'shift to the right'

The 'new realism' of the trade union movement was temporarily eclipsed in the face of the vicious state onslaught against the striking miners. Confronted by such determined class fighters it took some time for the trade union leadership to reassert its deadly control, betray the miners and so be able to continue unresisted along the same path as before. Attempts are being made to prevent any split—always highly unlikely—over the Tory government's union legislation and the acceptance of government money for ballots. The AUEW has already pocketed some £1.2m against official TUC policy. Somebody once said that Lenin's theory of the labour aristocracy was crude because the idea that the ruling class bribed sections of workers was far too crude a notion. But there you have it. £1.2 million to the AUEW. Apparently it was all a misunderstanding between brothers. It could all be sorted out if the TUC altered its policy to say that while unions should not accept state aid, it was up to individual unions to decide their attitude. Unions, also it appears, despite earlier decisions, did not have to break the law (government legislation), only that the TUC would muster support when requested and justified for a union facing legal action. After the experience of the miners' strike no one can count on that. Apparently that is the position of the TGWU. It is now taking a more flexible attitude to the government's labour laws. It will have to. The Labour Party has already indicated that it has no intention of repealing all the new legislation if it is returned to office. Little wonder that the 'left-led' NUR has joined in the 'new realism' and voted narrowly to accept pre-strike ballots.

It is hardly surprising that those who the TUC speaks for want to hold on to

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Enrique Vargas – Socialist Party of Chile

'... We are here united because we are fighting for the same thing, for the right of the human being... Most of you have heard that thousands of people have disappeared in Chile, thousands of people have been sent into exile, but Pinochet has not been doing this alone. He has been supported by the reactionary governments, by the United States government, by this Tory government. I say this Tory government because Margaret Thatcher is selling arms to Chile, is selling the same airplanes, the same ships we were fighting in the Falklands war...

'It is difficult at this moment to fight in Chile, but people from different fronts are together against the fascist regime. People from the shanty towns, from the factories are still together, together trying to overthrow this fascist regime. We are very conscious that the fascist Pinochet will not go alone. The regime will have to be overthrown...'

Cilius Victor – Newham 7 Defence Campaign

'... At the moment the racists and the Newham 7 are in the same dock being tried at the same trial. This is an attempt by the police and by the court system to portray a situation of gang warfare in the East End of London...'

Rosmina Banu Randera – anti-deportation campaigner

'... What is British justice? Is it to take away the human right from us of having a family life?...

'... There is nothing impossible. Everything can be possible if you fight for it and we have to fight for it. The time has come and we have to fight and we will win!'

PAUL MATTSSON



Zolile Keke – Chief Representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania

'... Our people have been suffering, our people have been losing their lives. Now you people who are supporting our liberation struggle, you must understand that the advance of the struggle against white supremacy which is backed by Western imperialism in that country, that any triumph or any victory of the masses in our country, is a victory for you, friends and people who are in the heart of imperialism...'

Carol Brickley – Revolutionary Communist Group

Comrades there is nothing new about British imperialism. The British have been oppressing the peoples of other nations for centuries. Marx and Engels in the 19th century were able to describe Britain as a bourgeois nation with even its working class in a privileged position, living off the labour of the masses of oppressed people throughout the world. With the growth of imperialism this process hasn't stopped. British banks and British companies continue to bleed the oppressed nations dry through a process of shifting money around the world, through a process of cheap labour, through a process of robbing oppressed nations of their natural resources. Imperialism still holds major parts of the world in its sway and its rapacious search for profits continues.

Only a few weeks ago we saw Thatcher and Reagan, the arch hypocrites of imperialism celebrating 40 years of peace. Yet the Malvinas/Falklands war was the 88th armed action by British forces since end of the Second World War. And that's if you count 15 years of war in Ireland as one armed action.

But in 1985, we can say that the tide has turned against imperialism and its oppression of millions of people. Ten years ago the Vietnamese people defeated the armed might of US imperialism. Since then the peoples of Laos, of Nicaragua, of Mozambique, of Angola, Zimbabwe and others have dealt body blows to imperialist oppression. The peoples of Southern Africa, of Namibia, of El Salvador, of Chile and throughout Central America, the people of Africa, the peoples of Ireland, Palestine and Lebanon, the Aboriginal peoples of Australia, the Maoris of New Zealand are continuing the struggle against imperialist oppression.

And such assaults on the power of imperialism would not have been possible without the assistance of socialist countries whose very existence has ensured that imperialism has been unable to enslave the whole of the human race.

In 1913 Lenin wrote: 'The philosophy of Marxism is materialism'. We are materialists. During 1984 the imperialist crisis deepened and worsened. And this rally is not just about the struggles in other countries and our solidarity with them. It is also about the struggle here at home in the very heartland of British imperialism.

In order to stave off its growing crisis and knowing that whole areas of the world are no longer open to imperialist exploitation precisely because of the struggles of oppressed peoples and the socialist countries, British imperialism has had to turn its attack on the working class in Britain. The numbers of unemployed in Britain have grown, the health and education services have worsened, the miners had to fight bitterly for a year to defend their jobs and the future of their communities. The rich have become richer and the poor have become poorer, as benefit cuts have reduced many families to the depths of poverty and made many of our young people homeless.

And this is in the Britain which Marx and Engels described as privileged. It is still a privileged Britain, yet more and more sections of the British working class and oppressed people are knowing what imperialism is all about.

The Thatcher government planned their offensive against the British working class. They brought in the laws that were necessary. They attacked our democratic rights, they have continued to deport 50 black people a week from Britain. They have continued and escalated their use of the Prevention of Terrorism Act against the Irish people... They have continued the onslaught against black people in Britain, against women, against the peace campaigners, against anyone who has put up any opposition to their rule...

Over the last year parallels have been drawn by men and women in the mining communities between their treatment at the hands of the highway brigands, the police and the courts, and the treatment

which is meted out to black and Irish people in Britain and Ireland over the last 15 years. The mining communities, black people, the Irish and other oppressed groups have learnt that to stand for what appears to be an established democratic or human right means a fight with the British state. Because British imperialism is in crisis it cannot tolerate any opposition, whatsoever.

But we are only at the beginning of the lessons we have got to learn. It is one thing to identify that the main enemy is British imperialism and to understand, as Marx and Engels understood when they wrote the Communist Manifesto, that the bourgeoisie no longer deserves to rule and that its existence is no longer compatible with society. It is quite another thing to understand the need to organise to fight British imperialism at home as well as abroad in order to take power away from the exploiters and oppressors.

The RCG is a communist organisation and as such we offer our solidarity to all forces fighting imperialism. They have taught us many lessons not least of all the need to organise for our liberation. And we have learnt lessons also about the need for a broad democratic organisation; on the pavement outside South Africa House; in the campaigns against deportations; in the struggles to defeat the PTA.

And there are other lessons. The first is this: during the course of the struggle there are those opportunists who place themselves in the leadership of the working class and oppressed who are really on the side of the ruling class and imperialism. The miners' strike was betrayed by the leaders of the labour movement. The striking miners were reviled and many avenues of support and solidarity were cut off because Neil Kinnock and Norman Willis, amongst others, stood at the head of the movement making concessions to the barbarity of Margaret Thatcher and the NCB.

Well, unlike Neil Kinnock the RCG is not opposed to all violence. Those who have been trampled down by police horses and batons, those who are subject to racist attacks by the state and fascists, those who are dragged through the courts, those who are threatened with job losses, homelessness and poverty – they have a right, whilst the imperialists get away with their robbery – they have every right to fight back and to organise to destroy their oppressors. Unlike Neil Kinnock and the legions of other scabs who will turn their backs on the working class in the future the RCG stands on the side of the oppressed. The character of the opportunists is always expressed in their call for the working class and the oppressed to lay down their arms, to give up the fight, whilst the ruling class is armed to the teeth.

The second lesson we must learn is this. Whilst there is nothing new about imperialism there is everything new in the struggle against imperialism. During the course of the coming struggles against imperialism new methods of fighting and organising will be learned. The methods of 15, 10 or even 5 years ago are no longer appropriate to a fight against the bourgeoisie which is armed to the teeth with riot trained police, with laws and courts all ready to do its bidding. The British state, in the grip of its economic crisis, has introduced new and savage methods to deal with opposition. Beware those who at precisely the time the working class and the oppressed are closest to victory shout loudest for negotiations, for compromise or for conciliation. Communists learn the lessons of the peoples' struggles and do not rely on tried and tested methods, when those methods have previously led to defeat.

In 1848 Marx and Engels wrote that a spectre was haunting Europe and that spectre was communism. In 1913 Lenin wrote:

'Throughout the civilised world, the teachings of Marx provoked the utmost hostility and hatred of all bourgeois science which regards Marxism as a kind of pernicious sect.'

RA PEOPLE VE



ISM!

Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! held its Second Anti-Imperialist 29/30 June. Taking a stand against imperialism's reactionary off FRFI and other democratic and anti-racist movements united with movements in Southern Africa, El Salvador, Chile, Uganda, Sudan...

250 people attended the Saturday evening Anti-Imperialist Rally chaired by David Reed. Thirteen speakers and other messages of necessity and urgency for a united international fight against racism. The theme was underscored by revolutionary songs performed by the Singers. Extracts from all the speeches are printed below.

The Rally was followed by an RCG dayschool on Sunday at Greenwich workshops and films, David Reed delivered the main speech of the current political situation and the tasks of communists in Britain. Printed in full in this special pullout.

Over the last year the RCG has been reviled by the British press – by *The Times*, by *The Guardian*, and even by the *Morning Star* – as an ultra-left sect, as a lunatic fringe, as people not to be seen dead with. When the enemy squeals, we know that they are hurting.

We stand in a long tradition of those who have been abused as terrorists and as ultra-lefts and as lunatics and as 'men and women of violence'. But we are proud of our real names. We are proud to be revolutionaries, proud to be anti-imperialists, proud to be communists. For we stand in a tradition started by Marx and Engels and carried on by Lenin and the people of the socialist countries. It is a tradition that stands for justice, stands for liberation and equality for the whole human race.

JOIN THE RCG!

Take the side of all those struggling against imperialism – Join the RCG! A movement must be built in Britain in solidarity with the struggle of the oppressed peoples of Ireland, Southern Africa, Central America – Join the RCG!

A movement must be built which stands for the oppressed in Britain fighting racism, repression, poverty – Join the RCG!

A movement must be built in Britain which takes on the treachery of the opportunist leaders of the labour and trade union movement and defeats them; for a revolutionary anti-imperialist alternative – Join the RCG!

Name _____

Address _____

Tel. _____

Return to: FRFI, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

Jose Lopez – FMLN

Dear friends and comrades first of all I want to thank the organisers of this international rally for the opportunity to come and talk to you. I bring to you greetings from the FMLN/FDR political representative forces of the people of El Salvador.

The present situation in El Salvador is more complex than two or three years ago. But the complexity of the situation in El Salvador does not mean that the causes that originated the armed conflict have changed. On the contrary, we think that the levels of misery, repression, hunger, poverty and exploitation have increased in the last years. And as a result of this we think that the popular revolutionary struggle is reaching higher levels of confrontation between our oppressors and the FMLN/FDR... The armed conflict is still the fundamental one to be resolved in El Salvador...

But at this moment the political struggle is taking a more decisive role than in previous years. It is difficult for us to explain how in El Salvador, a country at war, the popular struggle can develop.

It is difficult to say how in a country where 60,000 people have been killed since 1980, over a million made refugees where many basic trade union and human rights are constantly violated when unions go on strike actions they run the risk of army intervention closure of work places imprisonment disappearance and even assassination.

But the amazing thing is that it does take place, the mass struggle goes on...

PEOPLE'S LIBERATION

VS STATE



at Weekend on Saturday-Sunday
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FRFI Singers and City AA
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the day 'People versus State' on
tain. David Reed's speech is

Messages of solidarity were
received from
Supporters of the Popular Front
for the Liberation of Palestine
North Staffs Women's Action Group
Sean McGuinness - Irish
Republican Socialist POW,
Portlaoise gaol
National Liberation Front of
Tamil Eelam
Indian Workers Association
Gays and Lesbians Against
Apartheid, Imperialism and
Racism

US/FR

The image of a new El Salvador under the new 'democratic' government of President Duarte is being presented inside and outside the country. This US campaign portrays the present government as a triumph of moderation over violence, as a government which is creating stability. So El Salvador is being sold as a 'success' in the same way as Grenada. As you know, in Grenada direct military intervention was justified by the United States and in El Salvador a bloody counter-insurgency war is also being justified by the United States. And sadly the British government has already offered to train Salvadorean officers in Britain. So this is not a coincidence, but a clear support for Reagan's policies towards Central America and El Salvador. I think that the progressive forces in Britain in particular can help to unmask this false image of the Salvadorean Government...

In spite of all this diplomatic and political offensive by the United States government and the Salvadorean government we think that the political struggle has developed, the mass actions combined with the military actions of the FMLN have not only maintained, but also increased in the last period. There have been at least 50 strikes and stoppages throughout the country in the first months of 1985. There have been big street demonstrations on May Day to commemorate international workers day - about 40,000 workers and peasants demonstrated in the streets of San Salvador demanding their social and democratic rights and repudiating the



present policies of the Duarte government. During March the number of workers involved in disputes was 30,000, in April more than 65,000, in May 70,000 and now in June a number of strikes are still going on...

We think that the political decision to carry out a massive direct military intervention in Central America has already been taken by the United States. The US Marines are just waiting for the order 'Go!'. Reagan is only looking for the right moment, for the right excuse to send the American marines in. The Central American crisis is... a crisis created by the United States government to deny Nicaragua the right to be a free and sovereign state... and build its own future without foreign interference. And also to deny the Salvadorean people and the Guatemalan people the right to have a better society, the right to overcome the precarious conditions in which they live...

David Kitson - ex South African political prisoner

Comrades and friends, a year ago when I was still in South Africa Botha was brought to Europe and Mrs Thatcher and her West European cronies tried to give him a civilised aspect and get him to rejoin the comity of nations. Now that I have been freed for a year we can all see the real naked face of South African apartheid robbed of any cosmetic device except being smeared with the blood of the South African people...

The people's war in South Africa at the moment is the culmination of many years of struggle. Twenty-two years ago I was the communist representative on Umkhonto we Sizwe and became a member of its National High Command. That is because as Marx once said, communists are inseparable from the people. I didn't go to jail in order to prove Marx right, of course, I went to jail because I was caught. However, he does happen to be right. In those days it was necessary for us to bell the cat. It might have been hard for us then, but now that a beginning had been made, the air is ringing with anti-cat bells sounding the tocsin of apartheid in South Africa.

Particularly at this moment I consider it an honour to be standing on the platform with so many representatives of national liberation movements and defenders of peoples' rights, able to speak to an audience which has so many communists amongst it...

The naked force which the South African state presents in oppressing the South African people by armed violence accords with the marxist definition of the state robbed of all complications... The facade of the British state today is crumbling because the British ruling class are helpless victims of the laws of capitalist accumulation. So much so that they have not bent to popular pressure in the way that the Reagan administration might have to succumb to the grass roots movement against apartheid that is springing up in the United States. Mr Rifkind is obliged to say that we British are not going to go in for emotional and ineffectual measures against South Africa. The fact is that they don't want to bend because they now need the money from South Africa in order to keep the British people in their place. And now that the facade is crumbling a remarkable resemblance between the South African state in all its crudity and the British state, which was once so subtle, is beginning to appear...

In South Africa young people are subject to the rigours of influx control and in this country under social security legislation the movement of young people here is going to be controlled. In South Africa black children suffer from an inferior educational system and many of them die before they are five years old, and in this country the increase given to children's benefits are derisory and are a mark of the way the British state is going. South Africa is notorious for the level of its police violence and anybody who has lived in this country during the past year has seen the violence of the police directed not only against the miners, but also against the Greenham Women, the Newham 7, or for that matter, the picket outside the South African Embassy. Furthermore in South Africa in the face of the growing and militant democratic black trade union movement there, legislation has been introduced in accordance with fiddles worked out by Wiehahn and Riekert. Here, in Britain we find also anti-trade union legislation being passed so that trade unions have to pay fines of £¼m because they don't comply with laws the Tories have invented to keep the workers down...

What we have to do is to smite imperialism hip and thigh. In so far as South Africa is concerned what we do is engage in anti-apartheid activity... A few days after my arrest Norma (who had been active since a teenager) and other relatives of detained people demonstrated outside the Johannesburg City Hall. The other Kitsons have been active against apartheid ever since. In the 1980s City Group have been

carrying on the sort of activity that has produced a positive response...

We have seen how direct action can succeed through the recent grass roots activity in the United States of America where thousands of people have been demonstrating outside South African institutions in that country, with more than four thousand so far arrested - ranging from Amy Carter down to ordinary people, trade unionists, congressmen and senators. This really has made a tremendous change in the attitude of the American people against apartheid - done through direct action, picketing.

We need all forms of activities against apartheid including picketing, demonstrating and campaigning in order to arouse the people. I assure you the success of this meeting shows that the people are becoming aroused. And when they do become aroused, those gentry who have been having a nice comfortable living out of the existence of apartheid and opposition to it get worried. I refer of course to the opportunists. Opportunism, as Lenin said, is the principal enemy. What the opportunists do when people get active, as we have all learnt the hard way, is to try to demobilise the activities because they don't want the status quo to be destabilised. It might upset their self-interest. They spread rumours, as we all know, even lies, they make personal attacks on us out of their self-interest.

Well, it is the lot of all activists, to get attacked by the opportunists. And the answer to that is given once again by Lenin, who said what we need to do is to go deeper and deeper into the masses - while of course the opportunists hope to get higher and higher until at last they get an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury.

So what we need to do is to dig a little deeper and to stay active. I have seen how the comrades in this hall, day in and day out, stand in the rain holding banners, get on the phone, write letters, grind away and don't see much return - but I assure you, to go into the jargon once more, all these little unnoticeable, quantitative changes, result in a qualitative effect. What is happening is that decent people throughout this country are becoming aroused, not only because of our activity, which is a factor of course, but because of their arousal with events in South Africa, and they find that we are the people that are giving them a lead. That way the conniving of the opportunists is brought to nought.

So I recommend to you all comrades just keep on doing it the way you have been since 1982 on the 86 day picket and the opportunists soon will be outnumbered and surrounded and all barriers they are trying to put up against us will be burst.

In South Africa, the bottom line is the armed struggle which has been going on for the last 25 years - freedom in South Africa as I have said before - comes from the muzzle of an AK47. I say that specifically to laud the role of the Soviet Union in the national liberation of South Africa as it has participated in many other liberation movements in accordance with the Leninist principle of supporting national liberation movements to weaken imperialism. We South Africans owe a due to the Soviet Union, are grateful for its support throughout the years.

In fact I am a Mandela man, the members of my family are Mandela people, and the true comrades in this hall are Mandela people because Mandela stands for no collaboration with the apartheid enemy. He has said so. The ANC has called for unity in the struggle in South Africa, which we must match with unity in the solidarity actions here. In South Africa the victory is in sight because of united and joint struggle here and there. And when the South Africans win, then here we shall be able to win too.

Stop the treason trial of the UDF 16 now!
Long live national liberation of South Africa!

William Bior Duot - Sudan People's Liberation Movement

'... Some of you might have been glad to see the Sudan People's Liberation Movement struggling against Nimieri as an institution but we are also struggling against that system which the man has created in the last 15 years. That system which has left our country with a debt in the region of £9bn, which has left our country to be a stooge state for the United States to a degree that Sudan was becoming a nuclear dumping state which Australia had refused...

'It is the system that exploits man that we want to remove in our country. That is the struggle of the SPLA/SPLM...'

Omwony-Ojwok, Uganda National Liberation Front (Anti-Dictatorship)

'... Unite to fight racism and imperialism! This slogan rings in our hearts, for we Ugandans and Africans as a whole have endured centuries of racist and imperialist oppression. But we are also fully aware that racism is a sharp weapon by which imperialism endeavours to divide the British people. Therefore racism must be seen as part and parcel of the exploiters' arsenal of war to keep that evil system going. Racism and imperialism feed on each other but imperialism is the engine. Therefore we must struggle against imperialism in order to get rid of racism...

'Comrades, the imperialists did everything to undermine the National Liberation Front when it carried out the struggle against Idi Amin. And Idi Amin himself had been put in power by a combination of British, Israeli and American imperialist agents. Therefore, when British imperialism was trying to pretend that Idi Amin was a bad man, he was himself a product of the same imperialism. It is for this reason, comrades, that British imperialism has opposed all attempts by the people of Uganda to struggle for their democratic rights. In 1980 a so-called election was carried out and once again British imperialism camouflaging as the Commonwealth observer team, went there to say that under the circumstances of Uganda - note the racism again - the elections had been free and fair. In other words two standards of democracy - one for Britain one for Uganda, one for the imperialist centre, one for the African people. The result is that our people have taken up arms, they are involved in political, diplomatic, cultural and all aspects of struggle and for that matter comrades, even now the British government is the only one remaining that unashamedly gives systematic and open military support to a regime that has been exposed...'

Tony James - City of London Anti-Apartheid Group

'... We in City Group understand very well and have been making an issue of the fact that racism in Britain and apartheid in South Africa are the same... There is no abstraction in apartheid. It is a real struggle on the ground and it is a real struggle that we face in Britain...'

Pauline Sellars - Irish Solidarity Movement

'... Comrades, the British ruling class is scared by the unity of the oppressed. In an interview on Radio Ulster in April, Sir Alfred Sherman, Thatcher's advisor, named Malcolm Pitt, the president of Kent NUM, and ex-Irish POW, John McCluskey, as the heroes of a 'sub-revolutionary movement' which incited picket line violence and 'endangered democracy'. Sherman went on to reveal the nightmare image for the British ruling class:

"one recalls the image of Malcolm Pitt and John McCluskey with their hands clasped high."

'That was a reference to the highpoint of the 200-strong Irish Solidarity Movement conference last October - a miners' leader and an Irish revolutionary joining hands on the same platform as our chairperson tonight, David Reed, and the Irish Solidarity Movement. This is the unity that haunts the British ruling class...'

Robyn Holder - Aboriginal Land Rights Support Group

'... The Aboriginal people of Australia mounted a widespread and massive resistance to the colonisation of their land from the moment the British invaded. That resistance has continued for more than 200 years. It is perhaps the longest war of liberation in history. Despite massacre, poisoning and consistent and deliberate attempts at racial and cultural genocide the Aboriginal people have not only survived but in recent years gone from strength to strength...'

Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! August 1985 9

PEOPLE VERSUS STATE

continued from page 7

what they have and not risk it by 'unnecessary' confrontation with a far more determined Tory government. It is still the case that the more privileged skilled and white collar workers are holding their own under the Thatcher government: since 1979, the wage after tax of a skilled manual worker has increased in real terms by £6.94 per week (4%) and the wage of a young single civil servant by £12.53 per week (12%). Compare this to the drop in income of recently unemployed workers of £14.23 per week (18%), the loss of £2.93 per week (3%) for a semi-skilled manual worker and a loss of £1.01 per week (1%) for a council manual worker. The 'political reality' of the privileged strata of the working class who hold on to their jobs looks quite different from that of the more oppressed strata of the working class. And this gap is widening as the Tories intensify their attack on the poor, and unemployment is at record levels.

In the face of the attacks being made by the Thatcher government on the working class, the Labour Party and trade union movement has shifted to the right. The character of the organised labour movement, its narrow base and the fact that it only speaks for the more privileged sections of the working class, makes this inevitable. It has never concerned itself with the poor and unemployed. The Labour Party has never reduced unemployment on coming into office. The trade union movement makes no attempt to organise the unemployed. So, as the crisis unfolds, and many people who were expecting secure and relatively privileged futures find themselves among the poor and jobless, the Labour Party's social base begins to narrow. It cannot appeal to the oppressed sections of the working class — to do so would drive away the significant core of its traditional voters. So it is forced to chase after the so-called 'floating voters' — the middle class and more prosperous sections of the working class — who deserted Labour for the SDP/Liberal Alliance at the last elections. Unless it adjusts its political stance to the interests of this layer then it has no chance of regaining political power in the near future. Given that political power, status and privilege is the overriding concern, the Labour Party, along with the trade union movement, is inevitably forced even further rightwards.

Kinnock made this position absolutely clear during his campaign to become leader of the Labour Party, when he said:

'... we can only protect the disadvantaged in our society if we appeal to those who are relatively advantaged. The apparent overconcentration of our energies and resources on these groups like the poor, the unemployed and the minorities — does a disservice both to them and to ourselves... if we are to be of real use to the deprived and insecure we must have the support of those in more secure social circumstances — the home owners as well as the homeless, the stable family as well as the single parent, the confidently employed as well as the unemployed, the majority as well as the minorities.'

Kinnock is simply deceitful. The relatively advantaged are not going to risk what they have to fight to improve the position of all workers and the unemployed. Kinnock knows this and that is why he has totally abandoned even the pretence to defend the interests of the poorest and most oppressed workers in Britain. He scabbed on the miners' strike, he scabbed on Liverpool councillors opposing ratecapping, he scabbed on school students acting against the YTS cheap labour system and he is attacking black people and left-wing activists, even the reactionary Militant Tendency, in the Labour Party, in order to build up a 'respectable' image of himself as an attractive proposition for SDP/Liberal Alliance, and even Tory, voters.

If the Labour Party ever gets back to power, the poor and unemployed can only expect a thrashing. The National Health service would not have 'instant repairs' to the damage done by cuts over the past six years. 'You would not ask for such a fantasy' Kinnock told the annual conference of COHSE on 17 June. 'The halcyon days of full employ-

ment were over' he told the opening session of the TGWU Conference on 24 June. And he showed utter racist contempt for the oppressed minorities when with the arrogant air of an imperialist regent he said:

'We will not tolerate in this movement people whose preoccupation and obsession is with the fringes and outer limits of politics.'

Those who did not share this 'instinct', he went on, 'had better take themselves off and indulge their hobbies elsewhere'. For this he received rapturous applause from the more than 1,000 TGWU delegates. The Labour Party has got the leader it deserves. To those who believe that such a party could make any advance towards socialism, we can only repeat to them the words of Neil Kinnock 'you would not ask for such a fantasy'.

The split in the CPGB

The small forces of the British 'left' draw their membership from the more privileged sections of the working class and, more importantly, direct their politics towards the relatively privileged layers of the organised labour movement. As that movement has shifted to the right and as its social base has narrowed so the left has had to confront a series of difficult political problems. Such a confrontation has precipitated a split in the CPGB.

What is fundamental to both factions in the CPGB is the belief that 'like it or not, the future of socialism is through the Labour Party' (Hobsbawm). They do indeed 'ask for such a fantasy'. However the Eurocommunist wing of the CPGB has at least a foothold in reality. It argues that to be reelected the Labour Party must shift to the right and the so-called CPGB must follow it. Whereas the opposition buries its head in the sand. It argues that the next general election can be won 'by Labour on the basis of a manifesto of left-wing policies covering economic and social issues'. It, needless to say, cannot produce a single argument to show how this could happen.

Both wings of the CPGB base their political programmes on the interests of the more privileged sections of the working class. What divides them is that the Eurocommunist wing directs itself primarily to the 'new' privileged layers — white collar, professional and technical workers — with all their middle class prejudices and hatred of communism whilst the opposition directs itself to the 'old' traditional industrial labour aristocracy.

The Eurocommunists call for 'campaigning among the people to arouse

'... those involved in a fightback against state repression today face a two-way assault — from the repressive forces of the state and from the ruling class's allies in the labour movement'

popular opposition to government policies'. But we should not be deceived. Their 'people' are people like them — middle class, articulate privileged sections of a 'new' labour aristocracy. The unemployed, the poor, black workers, working class women, do not figure in their schemes. Their call for a unified, broad, anti-Thatcher alliance is not simply a wish to defeat a vicious anti-working class government. One of its political consequences is an attack on the conduct of the miners' strike and, of course, picket line violence. Its leading members in the NUM, McGahey and Bolton, within days of the miners being forced back to work, were building bridges with opportunists like Kinnock and Willis who scabbed on the miners' strike. The Eurocommunists do not have fighting troops to lead and the growing crisis of imperialism will narrow the base of their support driving them further to the right. The CPGB will continue to decline under their control.

The opposition relies on the old 'troops' in the Labour and trade union movement and refuses to look beyond them to oppressed sections of the working class. Crucial issues like Ireland, racism and women's oppression merit little attention and the opposition has reactionary views on them all. The growing polarisation of the working class is exposing the reactionary role of their chosen allies and undermining their political influence in the working class movement. Their politics will become more and more restricted to retaining control, inevitably by bureaucratic means, of the

institutions they built up in better times — such as trade union bodies and, in the light of our experience, in the local groups of the anti-apartheid movement. They will fight tenaciously to retain some influence but having lost the Communist Party apparatus to the Eurocommunists, in spite of their hold on the *Morning Star*, they will follow their chosen allies among the 'old' labour aristocracy into political decline.

The sham fight in the CPGB is a diversion from the struggle to build a communist movement. Such a movement can only be built if it bases itself on the most oppressed sections of the working class and puts the fight against racism and imperialism and the defence of democratic rights at the centre of its political programme.

Building a police state

Every time the oppressed masses have fought back against the growing poverty and oppression that the imperialist system imposes on them, the response of the British labour movement has been the same. Whether it is the Republican movement resisting British terror in the six counties of Ireland, black and white youth during the 1981 uprisings fighting against police racism and harassment in British cities or the striking miners confronting state-directed violence in defence of their jobs and communities in 1984-5, the leaders of the British labour movement have not only distanced themselves from their struggles but have, often, openly condemned them. Every time this occurs it opens the

'To those who believe that the Labour Party could make any advance towards socialism, we can only repeat to them the words of Neil Kinnock, 'you would not ask for such a fantasy'.'

way for further attacks on democratic rights and freedoms and the ruling class becomes ever more brazen in consciously building a repressive apparatus to defend its own interests.

The ruling class knows full well that its political and economic policies, its attacks on the fundamental democratic right to organise and protest will eventually produce serious political resistance and further uprisings on the streets. That is why it is perfecting its state-machine — police, army, courts and prisons — to repress such opposition. The democratic trappings of the boom years are fast vanishing with little or ineffective protest from the organised labour movement.

The ruling class strategy is to stifle popular democratic opposition to its policies by controlling established forms of protest so that they become ineffective, and criminalising any effective resistance. So the right to picket effectively — to hold mass pickets or conduct so-called secondary picketing — was a criminal offence during the miners' strike. From peace camps to trade union protest to anti-racist/anti-apartheid campaigns, those in struggle find themselves ever more restricted by repressive legislation.

Every time the police and courts are allowed to get away with ignoring or manipulating the law to justify repressive, and previously illegal, measures against those fighting back, new legislation is soon introduced in which the old 'illegality' becomes the new 'legality'. So the Police and Criminal Evidence Act embodies powers of search and arrest previously considered illegal and the recent Public Order White Paper will propose legislation to give police the right, they have often simply taken, to ban political demonstrations on the streets and political protests outside embassies. In such a way the ruling class builds up, step by step, the power of the state to isolate, divide and defeat resistance to poverty, racism, war and repression.

This conscious strategy became apparent with the appointment in 1982 of Kitson to head the UK Army Land Forces and Newman to head the Metropolitan Police. For these two men represented the accumulated experience of the British ruling class in oppressing national liberation movements, particularly in Ireland where they both served in crucial periods.

The essential strategy is to isolate the 'subversives' — that is, effective opposition — in Kitson's own words 'to discover and neutralise the genuine subversive elements'. At the same time the strategy calls for a strengthening of 'moderate el-

ements who support the state', that is, the ineffective opposition — in Kitson's own words 'to associate as many prominent members of the population, especially those who may have been engaged in non-violent action, with the government'.

The method requires intelligence gathering from large numbers of low grade sources in order to target the 'subversives'. Police powers of search and arrest have been extended to aid this process. Modern computer-backed technology is then used to collate and distribute this information and build up a picture of potential sources of opposition. Next come 'psychological operations' which are used to isolate the opposition from the people. At this stage in Britain these include propaganda against the opposition cause and crucially using the media to denigrate those resisting the state or holding unacceptable views, so justifying the repressive and often illegal measures taken against them. The terminology is well known. There are 'moderates' and 'extremists'. The language used soon gets more extreme. Miners involved in mass pickets are called 'terrorists' or 'the enemy within', and so it goes on. Even politicians like Tony Benn have to be isolated and come under vicious attack. His proposed bill to amnesty anyone convicted of any offence during the miners' strike was said by Leon Brittan, the Home Secretary, to represent 'the morality of the terrorist and revolutionary'.

In restricting the right to organise in opposition to it and attacking and isolating those leading that opposition, the state relies not only on its laws, police, courts and prisons but crucially on that section of the working class movement which will sell out and compromise to defeat the struggle from within — the opportunists.

Whether it is Kinnock or Willis attacking picket line violence, or middle class blacks supporting the race relations industry, the effect is the same. To give the go-ahead to the state to isolate and destroy effective opposition and pave the way for more substantial attacks on our democratic rights and freedoms. Could, for example, Brittan have attacked Benn in that nauseating and hysterical style if Kinnock had not already rejected out of hand an amnesty for striking miners and dismissed Benn's proposed Bill as without any serious purpose?

The ruling class represents the interests of a small minority of rich and powerful people. To retain its power and privilege it depends on continued divisions in the working class and on its ability to isolate and pick off effective opposition to it in one section at a time. The opportunists — the so-called 'moderates' — represent a crucial component in its strategy of holding on to political power. As Lenin put it 'without their leadership of the workers, the bourgeoisie could not remain in power'.

It follows that those involved in a fightback against state repression today will face a two-way assault, firstly from the repressive forces of the state and secondly from the ruling class's opportunist allies in the British Labour and trade union movement. There can be little doubt that today, as the striking miners have been forced to realise, those involved in a serious political fightback will be forced as well to do battle with an old movement which has ceased to represent progress.

Fighting back

How can the unholy alliance of the ruling class and its opportunist allies be defeated? As the economic, social and political crisis of imperialism deepens, so will the social base of the opportunists and their supporters narrow. Increasingly workers in struggle will understand that the opportunists represent the interests only of a privileged minority of the working class. And precisely because they do represent a minority, they can be defeated by a movement that openly and democratically campaigns in the interests of the majority. They only appear strong because they are not challenged. They only appear strong because we have never been able to unite effectively against them. The 'unholy alliance' can and will be defeated by determined and united opposition in defence of democratic rights.

It should be remembered that it took a whole year for the combined forces of the government, the NCB, the police, the law and the Labour Party and TUC leaders to defeat the determined and heroic struggle of the striking miners and their communities, in spite of the deep divisions in their union and in the working class movement. It was because the leadership of the NUM did not compromise with the opportunists on a whole number of issues — the ballot, the right to oppose police violence — that the oppor-



Kinnock: smug scab

tunists were kept at bay for so long.

When police attempted to restrict the right to picket outside the South African Embassy in London in June and July 1984 they were met by a determined campaign to break the ban. The RCG, the City of London Anti-Apartheid Group and other allies, immediately set up an open, democratic campaigning organisation — the South African Embassy Picket Campaign — to win back the right to picket the Embassy. The 'moderates' in this case — the leadership of the Anti-Apartheid Movement — refused to support the campaign, collaborated with the police, making it clear to them that they were opposed to the 'confrontationist' policies adopted by the SAEP and that they were prepared to negotiate with the police. The AAM leadership's secret undemocratic back-door methods failed. Whereas the militant democratic SAEP, after 161 arrests, including 3 MPs and 5 local councillors, 5 picketers sent to prison and 2 months of determined campaigning beat off the challenge of the police and the leadership of the AAM to win back the right to picket outside the Embassy.

The way forward for us is clear. Each and every attack on democratic rights has to be opposed. The ruling class will only give ground if confronted by a determined and united opposition. The opportunists can be exposed as an unrepresentative minority and so be defeated if we are prepared to unite in broad, open and democratic campaigns.

We have a hard fight on our hands because most campaigns whether concerned with Ireland, anti-racism, anti-apartheid, cuts in state spending, or the peace movement, always have those within them who refuse to look outwards and build open democratic campaigns. It is their way of retaining control. Politics for them consists of small committees in which each group bureaucratically manoeuvres for control. No real political action takes place, no real battles are fought because no real fighting forces are involved. These are the politics of the 'forces of the past'. They want single issue campaigns, bans on political groups, bans on political newspapers, bans on political banners, only labour movement and other influential speakers on their platform. They refuse to campaign on the streets; and so it goes on. Their politics are the politics of bans and restrictions. To accept their methods is to go into struggle with one hand tied behind your back. To accept their methods is precisely to play into the hands of the opportunists. You cannot fight to defend democratic rights if your primary concern is to restrict the democratic rights of those fighting alongside you.

As communists we must have confidence in our politics and confidence in the people we are fighting alongside. The test of our politics is in practice and therefore in open, public political battles. The test of our politics is the ordinary people so we campaign on the streets.

It will be a hard struggle to change the bankrupt political traditions of this country but in spite of our small numbers our influence is growing. It is a measure of our success in the AAM that its leadership was forced to turn to the bourgeois media — part of the ruling class apparatus of control — as part of their campaign to defeat us at the AGM of the AAM.

This is only a beginning and the new political tradition we are trying to create is barely off the ground. The opportunists will do everything to undermine our influence and isolate us but as the 'forces of the future' increasingly become involved in political struggle so will our influence grow and that of the opportunists decline.

Next year there is a great deal more to be done to build a united and organised movement of all forces defending democratic rights, fighting racism and British imperialism. You too can be part of that united struggle. Join with us now so that together we can create a growing unified centralised political movement that is capable of conducting the struggle against the state, its forces of repression and its opportunist allies.

David Reed



OLD IRON LADY

The Tin-Pot Foreign General and the Old Iron Woman, Raymond Briggs. Published by Hamish Hamilton £2.50

This book is very good because it is a children's book about the Falklands (which is Malvinas) war. It tells about how vicious Mrs Thatcher is but it does not say her name. It is a very funny book because it has funny pictures of her like this one where she opens her breasts and the gold pours out, until you get to the bit where all the people died. You have

all grey pictures of people dying.

In the book Mrs Thatcher says 'It is so exciting to have a *real* crisis'. In the end when she had won she said that the people who had fought in the war could not come to the victory parade to celebrate if they were wounded and had lost bits of their bodies.

The only thing that is not so good about the book is that it does not say that the Malvinas Islands *do* belong to Argentina (the Tin Pot Foreign General) and *not* to the Old Iron Lady (Britain).

Susan
aged ten

ISLAND OF TERROR

Sri Lanka, Island of terror, an Indictment EM Thornton and R Niththyananthan, 123 pages, £2.95

This book reveals the genocidal attack on the Tamil people in 1983 when within a matter of days over two thousand Tamil people were slaughtered. It charts the events in horrific detail through eye witness reports, interviews with survivors, and newspaper reports. The book explains some of the background and paints a picture of the increasingly repressive and racist state cold bloodedly orchestrating the racist hysteria that led to the '83 massacre.

Tamil people in Sri Lanka — who constitute 22% of the population — are struggling for a separate state, Tamil Eelam in the north and east of the island as they have learned that this is the only way to live without the racist terror unleashed on them. The book shows how successive governments have allied with the right wing Buddhist forces to systematically attack all the democratic rights of the Tamil people and fanned the flames of racism of the Sinhala people. The Sri Lankan state has thus led the attack against the Tamil people.

As the authors show, preceeding every racist attack on the Tamil people by Sinhala mobs there has been careful incitement by the ruling class forces.

Just before the '1981 Massacres' an MP made this statement in parliament: 'There was a punishment during the time of Sinhalese kings, namely two areca nut (palm tree) posts are erected, the two posts are then drawn towards each other with a rope, then tie each of the feet of the offender to each post and then cut the rope which will result in the tearing apart of the body. These people should also be punished in the same way ... The people of this country want and

the government is prepared to inflict these punishments on these people' (ie Tamil people).

Although the authors explain very well the link between the state and the racist attacks it does not deal adequately with British and US imperialist interests in Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan regime is only carrying out the divide and rule policy it has learned from the British. The book does not deal with the economic and political stranglehold US and British imperialism has on Sri Lanka. The authors do not make clear that it is in the *interest* of the Sinhala working class to make common cause with the Tamil people fighting for self determination. This being said, the book is essential reading for an accurate picture of the horrific events in Sri Lanka.

Viraj Mendis

DON'T MOURN

Police conduct during Township Protests: Aug-Nov 1984, by The South African Catholic Bishops Conference and the Catholic Institute for International Relations 50p

The events between August and November 1984 shocked the Catholic bishops into writing this harrowing report on what actually happened in the townships. All the statements contained in the report are from sworn affidavits from victims — most were cross-examined by lawyers and their statements are supplemented by doctors who treated the victims of racist South African police brutality.

This report should shock even the most complacent anti-apartheid campaigner into action. For instance, incidents of school children returning home forced into armoured tanks where they are brutally raped, children shot dead by rubber bullets in their back gardens,

NOT IN OUR GENES

Steven Rose, Leon J Kamin and R C Lewontin, Penguin 198 Pbk £3.95

How often have you heard it said: 'Women have a maternal instinct', 'Rioters should have their heads examined', 'Communism can't work because people are naturally greedy', 'You can't change human nature'? A field of science, 'sociobiology', has grown up giving a supposedly scientific basis for these reactionary views.

Not in our Genes, by one British and two US scientists, renowned in their own fields, exposes the fraudulent character of 'sociobiology', an impressive catalogue of the way that facts are bent to suit ruling-class prejudices.

Some of the examples are very memorable. Take the 'intelligence quotient' (IQ) test, for instance. A US army IQ test asked Polish, Italian and Jewish immigrants for the nicknames of professional baseball teams. In another test children are presented with a picture of a girl with black features and another with a doll-like European face and asked 'Which is prettier?'

The most famous trickster in this field was Sir Cyril Burt. He even invented two completely fictitious research assistants to lend an air of credibility to his publications. From 1909 to 1971 he published results without mentioning how or where he had collected his data, or even describing the particular tests used. Yet all this escaped the notice of his colleagues and admirers, and he received a knighthood for his 'results'. This highlights the most significant aspect of scientific fraud — the elevation of so many liars and cheats to prominent positions within the self-regulating world of bourgeois science. Even after Burt's posthumous exposure by Kamin in 1972, racist scientist Hans Eysenck declared: 'I only wish that modern workers would follow his example!' This should be no surprise since Burt's work was essential for the setting up of the 11-plus system, ensuring that most educational resources within the state sector would be reserved for the privileged few.

The story of schizophrenia forms a parallel with that of IQ. Here the role of Cyril Burt is played by Franz Kallman. While working in Nazi Germany, he produced data purporting to show that schizophrenia is a recessive genetic disease (ie one that, like cystic fibrosis, can be carried by people who never develop the disease themselves). Even after his arrival in the USA in 1936 he used this claim to support his argument for the compulsory sterilisation of both schizophrenics and their healthy relatives. Those who showed suspicion of his questioning risked being diagnosed as schizoid themselves.

Kallman was later appointed President of the prestigious American Society for Human Genetics, and his eugenicist past was covered up. Even though his work is now somewhat out of favour, later studies show the same ludicrous degree of partiality. People are diagnosed on the basis of gossip, hearsay and degree of co-operation with the interviewer. In one study, some of the subjects were 'interviewed' long after their deaths!

What underlies the sociobiologists' false arguments on both these issues is their aim to estimate the 'heritability' of IQ, racial characteristics, and of certain mental and physical illnesses. Thus they popularise their results with such claims as 'intelligence is 80% genetically determined'.

This claim is meaningless. Sociobiologists have carried out a sleight of hand, deliberately lending to 'heritability' a meaning and significance it simply does not possess. 'Heritability' does not in any sense mean 'unchangeability' — it is merely a measure of the proportion of variation in one particular population which arises from genetic (rather than environmental) differences, *under a certain set of environmental conditions*. Introduce a wider range of environments and the genetic variation will be proportionately less, and heritability will be lower. Heritability *describes* the situation under specified conditions. In no way does it *predict* the effect of *changing* the social or physical environment.

It is easiest to understand this in relation to genetic diseases. Contrary to a popular misconception (itself fostered by sociobiology) inherited diseases are no less curable than disease in general. Wilson's disease, for instance, is fatal in early adulthood, but can be cured by the drug penicillamine. In Third World countries death from such a disease is 100% genetically determined. In Britain, where the drug is available, the heritability of the disease is much lower. The worldwide eradication of such illnesses is prevented by imperialism, not by some abstract entity called 'heritability'.

The interests of the ruling class are well served by labelling rebels as mentally ill, and finding a biological cause for their illness. Three US scientists in 1967 located the cause of urban riots in the defective brains of their ring-leaders, and proposed a surgical solution: removal of part of their brains. Correspondence of the Director of Corrections, Sacramento, in 1971 suggested a certain inmate as a candidate for brain surgery. His symptoms? His lack of respect for officials, his militancy, his leadership ability, and possession of 'an avalanche of revolutionary reading material'. (FRFI readers beware!) Just as criminal

as these dramatic examples are the 941 doses of central nervous system drugs administered per patient per year in Holloway jail. Even Cathy Massiter, the MI5 agent who spilled the beans about the extent of political surveillance, was recommended by her superiors for psychiatric treatment.

Against those who would proclaim the sacred independence of science from politics, Rose, Kamin and Lewontin are uncompromising:

'If biological determinism is a weapon in the struggle between classes, then the universities are weapons factories, and their teaching and research faculties are the engineers, designers and production workers.'

The bourgeoisie and their hangers-on do not hesitate to use this weapon. Whenever women's rights, for instance, are to be undermined the state turns to science for justification. In 1980 Patrick Jenkin declared, 'Quite frankly, I don't think mothers have the same right to work as fathers ... These are biological facts, young children do depend on their mothers.' The appeal to sociobiology is often quite explicit. Long treatises in economic journals have been devoted to 'bioeconomics'. One article in *Business Week* magazine was entitled 'A genetic defence of the free market'. The first issue of *New Nation* (offshoot of the National Front) hailed sociobiology as 'an important vindication of our position'. When the leading determinist quoted by *New Nation* was challenged by Steven Rose to dissociate himself from the fascists, the response was a diatribe in the scientific press against Rose himself, equating Marxism with Nazism.

Books like *Not in Our Genes* can themselves be weapons in the hands of the working class. The ruling class bombards us daily with mind-destroying garbage through the TV, radio and press. The New Right ideologues, armed with scientific credentials, add new brands of propaganda to suit each attack on democratic rights and living standards. It is not surprising therefore if reactionary defeatist ideas about the limitations of human nature cause even many of those under attack to hesitate to fight back.

Not in Our Genes provides many of the answers for such people. In a readable and accessible style it thoroughly discredits the scientific basis of determinist ideas and, along with it, the whole myth of the neutrality of science in general. Once science is liberated from the ivory towers, it can become a tool for the working class. A book such as this one makes an important contribution to the re-establishment of the lost tradition of scientific socialism, so vital to an independent working-class movement. Jennifer

THE BALLAD OF THE FALLEN

Charlie Haden — (ECM 1248) 1983

Throughout the years there have been many heroic struggles against fascism and oppression. These struggles have often thrown up music and songs of great beauty and power, telling a story of battles lost and won, and a determination to continue until overall victory is achieved. This record collects together some of these songs, traditional songs from the Spanish Civil War and the countries of South America, and includes four pieces composed by Haden or pianist Carla Bley.

Although this could be called a 'jazz' LP I would urge you not to be put off by that label. It is quite simply a music of, at times, breath taking beauty. A music inspired by a passionate belief in the right of those involved in struggle and a music to encourage and uplift the heart.

The songs are rich in texture, blending passages of Spanish-style guitar with full, flowing patterns of brass; dance-style Latin American rhythms with imaginative improvisation; mournful dedication to the fallen with cheerful rousing exhortations to persevere. Some of these melodies will be familiar, perhaps 'The People United Will Never Be Defeated' from Chile or 'If You Want To Write Me' from the Spanish Civil War, while other, more recent songs, may not.

This is a record capable of moving me to tears, such is its beauty, and I believe all comrades in the struggle against imperialism will find its spirit rewarding and encouraging. The record sleeve contains the text of a poem (translated from the Spanish) from which the record takes its title. It was found on the body of a student killed when the United States-backed National Guard of El Salvador massacred a sit-in at the university in San Salvador. It is a moving and fitting accompaniment to the record which it inspired. Kwame

On 20 June the Latin American parliament issued a call for a continent-wide meeting to be held on 10-13 October in Montevideo, Uruguay, to discuss the foreign debt problem. In addition, the Latin American and Caribbean Trade Union Congress will discuss the foreign debt crisis on 15-17 July in Havana, Cuba. And there will be another Latin American conference on the debt in La Paz, Bolivia in August. The enormous foreign debt of the Latin American continent, over \$360 billion, has now become the decisive social, economic and political question throughout the region.

It is of significance, in this context, that socialist Cuba, the country that has made the most substantial social advances for its people in the region, is playing a leading role in highlighting the debt crisis and pointing the way forward to its solution. In a series of major speeches and interviews, widely publicised throughout Latin America, Fidel Castro gives a detailed analysis of the debt crisis and argues that the foreign debt of Latin America and the Third World cannot be paid back and, therefore, must be cancelled. Even this, however, will not solve the problem unless a 'new international economic order' is created which sees 'the disappearance of the iniquitous system of exploitation through which the Third World countries are victimised'. Castro argues that Third World countries are 'being forced to think, to unite and to seek solutions, regardless of their political stands and ideologies, as an elementary matter of survival'. The foreign debt crisis will unite Latin American countries far more than even the Falklands/Malvinas war did. It has meant, despite all US imperialism's efforts to the contrary, that Cuba's isolation from other Latin American countries is finally at an end. On 19 June Cuba was admitted to the Latin American Parliament by an overwhelming majority vote of 140 to 25. Fidel Castro's intervention is making sure that the Cubans play a leading role in influencing the outcome of discussions on the foreign debt crisis throughout the oppressed nations of the world.

The foreign debt is unpayable

The crisis in Latin America is far worse than in the 1930s. The population is three or four times as large as in the 1930s and its social problems are incomparably greater. Except for oil, Latin America's export products have far less purchasing power than in the 1930s. And most important at the time of the crisis in the 1930s, Latin America had practically no foreign debt. Today that debt is over \$360bn and there is no way it can be paid back.

Countries such as Argentina are using 52 per cent of their exports to pay interest on their debts. Bolivia is paying 57 per cent, Mexico and Brazil 36.5 per cent, Chile 45.5 per cent and Peru some 35.5 per cent. It is practically impossible for any country to keep going if more than 20 per cent of its exports are absorbed by payment on foreign debts. Little wonder that this has had a devastating effect on the economies of Latin America and on the living standards of the people.

Between 1981 and 1984 the gross domestic product of Latin American countries fell. The fall in income per capita was greater because of the growth in population. This fell almost 10 per cent for Latin America as a whole. In Bolivia it fell by 24.6 per cent, in Chile by 11.2 per cent, in Mexico by 6.3 per cent, in Argentina by 11.8 per cent, in Venezuela by 16.2 per cent and Uruguay by 16.2 per cent. In the case of Brazil, to restore per capita income to the levels achieved in 1980 will require its economy to grow at 5 per cent a year from now until 1990. Such a target cannot be met because of IMF imposed austerity measures. Already at the beginning of July the Brazilian government announced a \$8.8bn package of public expenditure cuts and tax increases so that it can resume negotiations with the IMF on a new \$1.4bn standby loan and parallel austerity programme.

Certain countries have been forced to make desperate efforts to increase their exports and drastically cut back imports in order to build trade surpluses out of which the interest payments on their debt can be financed. Brazil achieved a trade surplus of \$12.6 billion, Mexico

\$13.5bn and Argentina \$4.5bn last year. This has been at the cost of practically exhausting stocks of raw materials and at the expense of the maintenance and replacement of productive installations, so seriously undermining the long-term productive capacity of the countries concerned.

In 1984 Latin American countries as a whole paid out \$37.3bn for interest and profits to their foreign creditors and received only \$10.6bn in loans and investments—a net transfer of resources abroad of \$26.7bn. In just two years, 1983 and 1984, the net flow of financial resources out of Latin America was a staggering \$56.7bn. As Fidel Castro said

'the Latin American underdeveloped countries are financing the economies and development of the richest industrialised countries in the world with

impressive sums of money... And that money has gone forever; there is no possible way of getting it back.'

The growth rate of the foreign debt has declined from the record 24 per cent rise reached in 1981 as the imperialist banks have drastically cut back their lending to reduce their exposure and potential losses. Last year it grew by some 5.5 per cent and the interest on it—even if the debt is held more or less at the same level—will average \$40bn a year over the next ten years, and amount to \$400bn paid out over that period, that is, just to finance the interest alone on the foreign debt.

The IMF restrictions for further loans cannot work. Consumer prices in Latin America increased by 175 per cent on average in 1984, reaching staggering levels of 2,300 per cent in Bolivia, 690 per cent in Argentina, and 224 per cent in Brazil. The latest figures for three months into 1985 are even worse. As Fidel Castro says

'How can anyone ask that, in a single year, those countries reduce their inflation, balance their budgets and also pay astronomical amounts as interest on their debts?'

Castro warns the governments of Latin America that to demand massive reductions in the rate of inflation, drastic cuts in public expenditure and other restrictive measures, which will increase unemployment and poverty, can only lead to serious political and bloody social conflicts. This will threaten to destroy the 'democratic opening' which has been created by the masses in countries such as Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. The Latin American countries, including socialist Cuba, for this reason have a united interest in urgently seeking a solution to the debt crisis.

The foreign debt cannot be paid back. It must be cancelled. The alternative, says Fidel Castro, is 'generalised social upheaval throughout the hemisphere, possibly revolutionary social upheaval'. The debt has already taken its first toll



CASTRO CALLS FOR A GENERAL STRIKE OF ALL DEBTORS

in blood in the Dominican Republic, in 1984, when the poor were gunned down in the streets. 'Any attempt to pay the debt under the present social, economic and political circumstances in Latin America would cost our suffering and impoverished nations rivers of blood, and it could never be done.'

A new international economic order

Cancellation of Latin America's foreign debt, however, in itself will not solve the problem. For many countries it would have little or no impact, and for others it would offer at best a few years' respite. Fidel Castro points out that there can be no final solutions to Latin America's problems as long as the unequal terms of trade between developing and industrialised countries remain in effect; as long as the imperialist countries impose protectionist policies and dump subsidised products to grab markets and depress prices of the exports on which many Third World countries depend; as long as monetarist policies imposed by one powerful imperialist country determines the interest to be paid and oppressed nations are lent money at one value and are expected to pay it back at a higher value; and as long as the capital needed for development is drained away.

Unequal terms of trade have had a decisive effect in creating the crisis. They involve the constantly rising prices for the equipment, machinery and other finished products imported from the imperialist countries compared with the declining purchasing power of the developing countries' basic exports. An example of this is the fact that it took 200 tons of sugar to buy a 180-hp bulldozer 24 years ago. Today it takes 800 tons of sugar. Between 1980 and 1984 the terms of trade for developing countries' basic exports deteriorated by nearly 22 per cent. For Latin America as a whole with exports in the region of \$95bn this was equivalent to a loss of nearly \$20bn in purchasing power.

In addition Latin America relies heavily on US markets for its exports. 85 per cent of the increase in Latin American exports between 1982-84 went to the US. With the slowdown in the US growth rate and the protectionist measures being taken to reduce the record US trade deficit of \$123bn, a further fall in foreign exchange earnings for Latin America is almost certain. The problems will get worse.

The fact that interest rates are far higher than at the time when a large part of the debt was contracted leads to a further loss of capital for Latin America of some \$10bn. To which must be added the effects of the overvaluation of the dollar by some 30-40 per cent—80-85 per cent of Latin American debt is denominated in dollars—leading to extra interest payments of some \$5bn. Finally the high interest rates in the US resulting from the massive borrowing to finance the budget deficit and the highest military spending since the Korean War has led to a further capital outflow from Latin America of some \$10bn. Fidel Castro estimates on the basis of all this, together with 'normal' payments for profit and interest of nearly \$40bn, that Latin America is financing the imperialist countries in one year the equivalent of over \$70bn with \$50bn of it in cash.

Unless these basic international economic relations are changed no real social progress in the oppressed nations is possible. Fidel Castro goes so far as to argue that even social change is not enough. Social changes can bring about a better distribution of social wealth, lead to more justice and a concern for the poorest, neediest classes in the country but it is not enough. The Third World would lack the resources to solve the tremendous accumulation of social and economic problems.

'We consider that the fundamental premise for the Third World countries' independence, sovereignty and development—and even for the right to make social changes—is the disappearance of the iniquitous system of exploitation through which the

Third World countries are victimised. That is, we consider the struggle for the new world economic order... to be the most essential thing in the short term. Marx himself considered economic development to be a premise for socialism. Experience forced a number of countries, Cuba among them, to take the socialist road of development. Each people should decide for itself what it wants to do. I am absolutely convinced that, for the peoples of the Third World... development is the most important current task and a vital priority for all, without exception, in which they can unite in a common struggle.'

Castro argues that in Cuba it was not just social change which paved the way for the remarkable social advances of the Cuban revolution. It was also 'because a sort of new international economic order has been established in our relations with the socialist countries.' 85 per cent of Cuba's trade is with the socialist countries and its products are not sold at 'rock-bottom' world market prices. It receives higher prices and so substantial earnings to finance economic development. Only 15 per cent of Cuba's trade is with the West so the effect of unequal trade relations is much less significant. The same is true of Cuba's foreign debt. The debt with its main creditor, the Soviet Union—not for the first time—has been renegotiated without any problem for 10 or 15 years, interest-free. The result of all this is that the servicing of its \$3bn debt with the industrialised capitalist world comes to only 8.56 per cent of the total value of Cuba's exports. Cuba can make massive social progress, can use its resources for internal development and offer aid and help to other Third World countries precisely because of the 'sort of new international economic order' it has established with the socialist countries.

A general strike of debtors

The Third World has to establish the same kind of relations with the industrialised countries that exist between Cuba and the socialist countries. The key to creating this is unified action by Latin American and other Third World countries on the foreign debt. A general strike of debtors—some countries are practically on strike already—will be the only way of ensuring the imperialist countries sit down and talk. 'If we don't force them, they're not going to talk'. Fidel Castro believes this is the only realistic possibility and is one which would be supported by most oppressed nations and even some countries of the industrialised capitalist world. The socialist countries would also support such a development. The conditions, the discussions, the organisation has to be created now so that when a few countries are forced to default on their debt and economic and political action is tried against them, they have the full support of the entire Third World. As Fidel Castro argues, 'they can't blockade the entire Third World because they'd be blockading themselves, they'd be without coffee, without chocolate, without raw materials, without fuel, they'd be left with nothing'.

Castro points out that a 10 or 12 per cent reduction in current military spending alone would be sufficient to solve the problem of debt. And with such a modest cut in their military expenditures the imperialist powers could make themselves responsible to their own banks for the foreign debts of the Third World countries. 'It's chicken feed, since those insane characters would still have enough money to destroy the world five times over'. But first they will have to be forced to sit down and talk. Fidel Castro's brilliant intervention on the solution to the debt crisis will ensure that the Cuban revolution can no longer be isolated and that the Cuban people play a central role in a united effort to resolve what is now an 'elementary matter of survival' for the vast majority of humanity who live in the Third World.

David Reed

Fidel Castro's main articles on the debt crisis can be found in *Granma Weekly Review* 7 April 1985 and 16 June 1985

US IMPERIALISM TARGETS NICARAGUA

On 19 July the Nicaraguan people celebrate the Sixth Anniversary of the overthrow of the Somoza regime. The slogan is 'Victorious Nicaragua will neither sell out nor surrender'. US imperialism is determined to destroy the Sandinista government. It cannot tolerate a government of national independence that bases itself upon the democratic demands of the most oppressed sections of Nicaraguan and Latin American society. Nicaragua's 2.7 million people are a political, not a military, threat to the capitalist giant just a thousand miles away.



ment's budget has to be spent on defence. Four thousand Nicaraguans have been killed by contras since Reagan's 1981 inauguration. The imperialist

strategy is clear: bleed the Nicaraguan economy dry, terrorise the population, and when support for the Sandinistas has waned sufficiently – invade!

Since the US Congress voted against aid to the mercenary contras in April the Reagan administration has enforced a trade embargo on Nicaragua, launched a McCarthyite smear campaign against those Representatives who voted against the war drive, orchestrated provocations along Costa Rica's northern border with Nicaragua, and forced a reversal of the April decision. The US Congress has gone on to support CIA intelligence liaison with the contras, and to overturn an amendment forbidding the US government from attempting to overthrow the Nicaraguan government by military force. All this to the accompaniment of a litany of boasts by military figures assuring the US public that taking Nicaragua would be 'as easy as falling off a log', attempting to dispel the shadow of Vietnam.

The 12 June Congressional vote for \$27m worth of 'humanitarian' aid for the contras is primarily of political significance. It will make little effective difference to the contra's fighting ability: they receive a torrent of private donations but are no match for the battle-stepped Sandinistas. However, the Congressional vote identifies the bulk of the US political establishment with Reagan's war drive, and increase his room for manoeuvre.

Economic sabotage

Reagan's trade sanctions serve as an extension of the contra's attacks on Nicaragua's productive capacity. As President Ortega pointed out:

'Cooperatives, health centres, schools, machinery, construction equipment, day-care centres, food-stocks and houses are being destroyed by this daily policy of terror. Our losses during the period 1981 to 1984 total \$237 million. This would represent for the United States and the European Economic Community, on a percentage basis, \$102 billion and \$284 billion respectively of their export earnings during the same period.'

Forty per cent of the Nicaraguan govern-

LEBANON AND THE TWA HIJACK

On 14 June Shiite militants hijacked a TWA 747 and eventually landed it at Beirut's International Airport. Detaining 39 US hostages, they demanded the release of 735 Shiites held in Israel. The airport runway became a stage for theatrical spectacle. US TV companies, competing savagely, paid millions of dollars daily for the best positioned hotels from which to film the adventure. Across the Atlantic, in the USA, President Reagan publicly admitted 'frustration'. He told the world's press that he had 'banged his head against a few walls'. Despite the loud-mouthed talk of 'no concessions to terrorists', US imperialism, with all its might, was unable to take any action.

With US forces thrown out of Beirut in 1983 and the subsequent Israeli defeat in South Lebanon these criminals lacked the political power to execute their numberless threats. Reagan held council with his top henchmen and despatched the 'crack' 'anti-terrorist' Delta Squad to the Mediterranean. Using the British base at Larnaca, Cyprus, they ferried in enough gunpower to destroy the whole of Lebanon.

These menacing threats amounted to nothing. The US administration was forced to negotiate, albeit secretly, and tell the Israelis to speed the release of the Shiites they held. The intermediary in negotiations between the US and the hijackers reputedly from the Hizbollah – a Shiite fundamentalist movement supporting Khomeini – was none other than Nabih Berri, leader of Amal. The world press rapidly built up Berri's image – a moderate, Westernised man with whom dealings could be a pleasure. Berri eagerly presented himself as 'the

man' of the day, the only person capable of helping the US imperialists out of the corner. The hijacking could be his bridge to official recognition by US imperialism. But while Berri's stature among imperialist journalists grew and grew, it was Syrian intervention which finally secured a deal allowing the hostages to leave for Frankfurt on Sunday 30 June. In accordance with the unadmitted deal, the Israelis have also started to release the Shiites – 331 are already back in Lebanon.

Badly mauled in the hijack drama, Reagan and the bandits that surround him hurled epithets against the hijackers – 'thugs', 'murderers', 'cowards', 'barbarians', and 'criminals'. The hijackers had killed one US marine. The US administration has financed and organised the killing, raping, burning and pillaging by the 'contras' in Nicaragua, the Israelis in Lebanon, the fascist regime and its death squads in El Salvador, the counter-revolutionaries in

Afghanistan. Hundreds of thousands die and suffer at the hands of US imperialism, yet in boundless hypocrisy and disgusting perversion, Reagan claimed during the hijack: 'No nation on earth has been more generous to others in need.'

Unable presently to mount immediate direct intervention against the Lebanese people, the US administration, in tested imperialist fashion, is seeking to hire mercenaries for 'revenge' operations. \$5m is on offer for the 'capture of' the hijackers and schemes are being considered for 'private enterprise' 'anti-terrorist' operations.

The hijack revealed that today it is the Syrian regime, not Israel and the US, which controls developments in Lebanon. But this control is by no means absolute or permanent. As the drama unfolded, the Palestinian resistance forced a significant defeat on the Syrian /Amal alliance which for 5 weeks had fought in an attempt to disarm Palestinians in Sabra, Chatilla and Bourj al-Barajneh camps. On 17 June they were forced to sign a face-saving 13 point peace pact and lift the siege which had reduced the camps to rubble, killed over 800 Palestinians and resulted in the spread of cholera and typhoid. A key condition of the pact was that the Palestinians surrender their heavy weapons. They had none. They had heroically defended the camps with light weapons alone.

Humiliated at Beirut's airport, imperialism's distress is now aggravated, as is the Zionists', by the Syrian failure to liquidate the Palestinian resistance. It is no wonder then that in these circumstances imperialism spews out its most sickening bile, its hypocritical rhetoric and intensifies its official and unofficial military preparations for war against the oppressed.

Eddie Abrahams

Britain's share in the US war

Thatcher's government is a willing accomplice in the US plans. Between 1980 and 1983 the US secured the termination of aid and credit from the World Bank and other financial institutions. Foreign and Commonwealth Office documents were recently published in *The Observer* showing that the British government is working inside the EEC, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank to block loans to Nicaragua on a pretext of technicalities. Since early May when Nicaragua turned to Europe as a market for its bananas the Anglo-Dutch firm Geest have been trying to force the Nicaraguan produce out by price cutting. Thatcher's mentor Sir Alfred Sherman met with contra leader Frank Arana in 1983 and discussed the possibility of arms supplies. In early May this year the Foreign Office responded to reports that the contras were recruiting mercenaries in Britain, stating that nothing could be done by law as the mercenaries were not ex-servicemen. By 26 May *The Observer* reported 'up to 40 British ex-servicemen' recruited. Meanwhile two ex-British soldiers had been arrested at a contra training camp on the Costa Rica border with Nicaragua. In July Foreign Office officials attended a meeting in London addressed by contra leader Arturo Cruz.

Thatcher, in a letter to President Ortega, condemned Nicaragua's criticisms of Reagan's policies as 'abusive' and wrote 'the British government share these aims [of] peaceful solutions to the problems of Central America'. British imperialism is providing the Reagan war plans with political and diplomatic cover, and is conniving with the thrust of his military-economic strategy. President Ortega replied that Thatcher was supporting 'the violation of the most elementary norms of international behaviour.'

Mobilise

US imperialism has brushed aside every effort at a negotiated settlement with Nicaragua. It sneered at Nicaragua's gestures of reducing the number of Cuban advisers in the country and ending the importation of new defence systems. US troops are continuously rotated through Honduras which has been transformed into a vast military staging post. US warships are on permanent patrol off Nicaragua's coasts. A carefully designed incident along the Nicaraguan border with Costa Rica, meticulously presented as 'neutral' and 'without an army', while receiving a 50 fold increase in US military aid since 1981 would provide a politically neat excuse for a US invasion from the north. Reagan, as with the invasion of Grenada, uses frustration over Lebanon to whip up a mood of anticipation by hysterically raving against the Sandinistas.

Reagan would do well to consider the warning issued by Nicaraguan Defence Minister Humberto Ortega: a US invasion would meet mass organised resistance in Nicaragua, throughout Latin America and inside the USA itself. In the two days following the Congressional vote for aid to the contras nearly 2,000 people were arrested in protests across the USA. Nicaraguan Foreign Minister, Father D'Escoto, has begun an indefinite fast calling for international mobilisation against the US threat. The Nicaraguan people are mobilised to give the Yankee a lesson he will never forget; we in Britain must mobilise now against British support for the war drive.

Trevor Rayne
with thanks to Mike Webber

PHILIPPINES

As urban opposition to the Marcos regime grows, the communist New People's Army (NPA) controls large areas of the countryside. The United States 'Peace Corps' has pulled all but one of its volunteers out of Mindanao island after threats from the NPA. While the NPA is strongest on Mindanao, it is also active on all the other major islands. It has recently gained a lot of support on Negros island, due to massive redundancies from the sugar plantations there.

In response, right-wing death squads, including fanatical religious sects such as the 'Muslim Christian Rebels', armed by the government's Integrated Civilian Home Defence Force (ICHDF), terrorise villagers and murder suspected communist sympathisers. ICHDF members were responsible for the brutal murder on 11 April of Italian missionary priest Fr Tullio Favali. The death squads have only driven more peasants over to the communist side, since only the NPA can protect them from the government-backed terrorists.

The guerilla movement is now in a position to link up with the urban struggle. The illegal National Democratic Front (NDF), a revolutionary alliance of communists and other nationalist forces, has virtual control over areas of the Philippines' third largest city, Davao, organising general strikes and mass protests there. Small armed 'Sparrow units' protect strike leaders and deal out rough justice to tyrannical police officers and government officials. The NPA is ready to start armed operations in the capital, Manila, next year.

The Reagan administration, while willing to dump Marcos in favour of a more efficient puppet if needs be, is stepping up its military aid to the Philippines. Marcos implied recently that he might call in US combat troops to help him out. However, the US, having lost in Vietnam, are playing safe. They have leased two enormous sites in the Marianas Islands to replace Clark Air Base and Subic Bay Naval Base in the Philippines, which they will lose when the NPA is victorious.

Jonathan

KANAKS FIGHT ELECTIONS

In August elections take place in New Caledonia for four new regional councils; the first stage of the French Socialist government plans for the colony. The date for a referendum on independence has now been postponed until 1987.

At their congress in May the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), the vanguard organisation of the Kanak people decided to take part in the elections. The decision to participate was reached with great difficulty, especially after the successful rising against elections for a territorial assembly back in November 1984 (see FRFI 45).

Since November the Kanaks have come under increasing pressure to give up their struggle for independence. The white settlers, 'caldoches', have resorted to bombing Kanaks, firing upon them and rioting in January and May against the French government plans which they see as yielding power to the Kanaks.

As the caldoches arm themselves the Mitterrand government is forcing forward its plans for New Caledonia. Firstly that whatever the electoral result France will keep responsibility for security and foreign affairs. Secondly the French intend to enlarge their military presence, building a permanent base, increasing their contingent of troops by 50% and placing 25 Jaguar strike aircraft in New Caledonia.

The Mitterrand government rejects the main demands of the FLNKS, that a referendum on the question of independence take place before the March 1986 French parliamentary elections, and that only the Kanaks be able to vote in it.

In the August elections the FLNKS are predicted to win control in 3 of the 4 regional councils. This will be another step forward in the struggle for self-determination for the Kanak people.

Dale Evans

RUC COLLABORATORS WARNED

RUC plans to expand and entrench their sectarian presence in Derry are under threat from the Republican Movement. On 19 June, Sinn Féin councillors on Derry City Council succeeded in effectively evicting the RUC from a base in the Waterside area. They, with SDLP and Independent support, rejected an RUC application for a five-year lease renewal on land and buildings it occupies opposite the British Army HQ in the Waterside.

In the Loyalist Waterside area of Derry, directly opposite the nationalist Bogside, work at the multi-million pound Lisnagelvin RUC Barracks, reputed by nationalists to become the Castlereagh of Derry, came to an abrupt halt on Monday 1 July. Contractors pulled out and not one worker turned up for work. On Friday 21 June the Derry Brigade of the IRA had issued a warning to all contractors on the site that if work continued they would be executed. In a statement Derry Brigade said:

'We have repeatedly warned those who collaborate with the RUC that we will not tolerate their activities. No future warnings will be issued.'

Pauline Sellars

POWS' BIRTHDAYS

The following Irish Republican prisoners have forthcoming birthdays. FRFI sends greetings and we ask readers to send cards, preferably recorded delivery to ensure their arrival.

Sean Hayes, 341418, HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight. July (exact date not available).

Brian Keenan, B26380, HM Prison, Welford Road, Leicester, LE2 7AJ. 17 July.

Stephen Nordonne, 758663, HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX. 2 August.

Paul Hill, 462778, HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Road, Market Harborough, Leicestershire, LE8 2TN. 13 August.

Ronnie McCartney, 463799, HM Prison Gartree (as above). 3 September.

DELEGATION TO BELFAST 10/11 AUGUST

Irish Solidarity Committees in Scotland, the North and London are travelling to Belfast to take part in the annual anti-internment march.

For details of pre-delegation meetings, travel arrangements and cost write to ISM, BM Box 1320, London WC1N 3XX.

IRISH SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT

The ISM campaigns on the basis of 'Victory to the Irish People! Troops Out Now! Right of Repatriation for all Irish POWs!' The ISM has held events in protest at the informer strategy, plastic bullets, strip searches in Armagh gaol, the PTA and all aspects of repression used against the Irish people. The ISM has consistently campaigned in solidarity with Irish POWs in English gaols. The building of a campaign against the anti-Irish racist Prevention of Terrorism Act has been a central part of the ISM's work this year.

Join the ISM, order copies of the ISM pamphlet and the ISM campaigning leaflet to aid the building of a strong solidarity movement that can make common cause with the struggle of the Irish people for freedom from British rule.

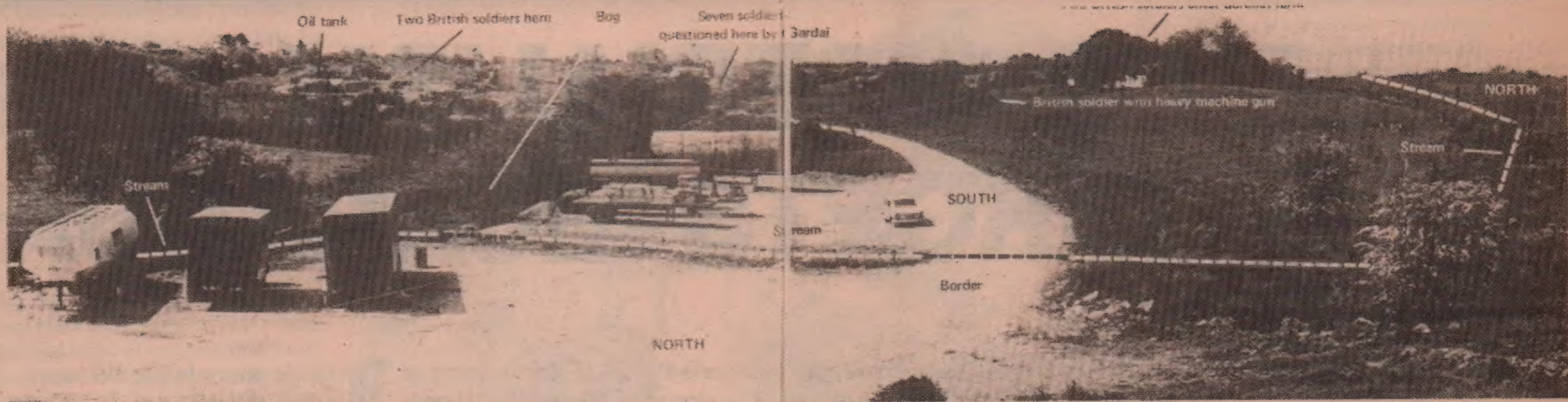
Send the form off NOW and order your ISM publications.

JOIN THE IRISH SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT!

Name _____ Tel _____
Address _____

Affiliation: individuals £5/£2 unwaged.
Organisations £20

Write to: ISM, BM Box 1320, London WC1N 3XX
Cheques/PO's payable to ISM and crossed.



Above, How a sixty-strong squad of British soldiers crossed into the South

British army turns screw

On Friday 31 May a large force of British troops crossed the Armagh/Louth border into the Twenty-Six County 'Free State'. Local people saw over sixty heavily armed troops, who had been ferried in by helicopter, cross at about 11am near Hackballscross. They proceeded to search several farmhouses and entered John Conway's yard and quarry containing huge oil tanks. The Gardai were alerted and a joint Irish Army and Garda force arrived in Conway's yard to politely inform the British troops that they were on the wrong side of the border. The troops withdrew.

An hour later John Conway discovered that one of the oil tanks in his quarry had been tampered with. The valve to the tank had disappeared with the result that 10,000 gallons of diesel oil had been drained into a nearby bog, from there into the Courtbane River - part of the main water supply to the town of Dundalk. The water was so heavily polluted that the local council were forced to ration the water supply over the weekend. Local people had witnessed British troops around the oil tanks and are in no

doubt that the tanks were sabotaged by the British Army.

This cross-border incursion, resulting in what could have been deadly consequences for the people of Dundalk, was just one of hundreds by the British Army over the last ten years. The local log of border violations for this year alone is fourty-two; the Irish government claim there have only been seventeen, but then it is hardly likely to admit the true extent of its collusion with such incidents.

Anglo-Irish collaboration

The British Army and government hardly attempted to defend this obvious invasion and vandalism, able to rely on their neo-colonial puppet regime in the Twenty-Six Counties to do it for them. The British Army did admit that 'a small number' of men had strayed across the border as a result of a 'map-reading error'! They denied that 'soldiers were responsible for the leaking of the diesel fuel oil'. The Free State regime, despite the unanimous evidence of local people, slavishly adhered to the British story of 'a small number' of men involved and just to prove they could count claimed that 'only five troops were involved not sixty and not even seven'. The ruling coalition government abjectly accepted what even the likes of Haughey referred to as 'the hoary old chestnut' of a map-reading error. They then went on to outdo the British in a blatantly absurd claim that it was just as likely that 'local Provisionals saw an opportunity and turned the knob themselves' in a bid to discredit the British Army and win votes for Sinn Féin. Local people are outraged at their government's collaboration with the British forces and a local Independent councillor said that the government's statement was 'the greatest load of crap I have ever heard'. Yet eyewitness accounts were totally ignored as the Irish neo-colonial puppet regime scrambled to do Britain's dirty work

and ingratiate itself further with the British government.

Indeed the lynch-pin of the continuing Anglo-Irish monologue is that of legitimising cross-border incursions as well as joint RUC/Garda policing and joint North/South courts. The problem for the Fitzgerald government is that the British will not concede even cosmetic reforms to allow the Free State to justify its collaboration with British imperialism.

Meanwhile the incursions continue. On Monday 17 June a British Army foot patrol crossed into North Louth. Not content with harassing Sinn Féin election workers in Six County elections the foot patrol proceeded to harass Sinn Féin supporters in the Twenty-Six Counties. As in the Six Counties British Army intimidation did not succeed: Sinn Féin went on to win 17 per cent of the total North Louth vote three days later in the Twenty-Six County local elections.

The Hackballscross incursion and the Free State cover-up is yet further proof that the struggle for a united independent Ireland is a struggle against not only British imperialism but also against the neo-colonial Free State regime.

Pauline Sellars

No normality

'Economic investment in Belfast has recently presented the Brits with a propaganda platform from which they have been consciously proclaiming the "return of normality"... There is no normality.'

This statement from the Belfast Brigade of the IRA spells out the rationale behind the operation of Friday 14 June. A 1,000 pound bomb was used to devastate a carefully targetted area of Belfast city centre which contained offices of British judicial, administrative and economic interests.

Armed volunteers acted as look-outs as the massive bomb was placed, demonstrating the ability of the IRA to breach the severe security measures in operation around the city centre. This was the biggest bomb ever used in the city centre and the first such operation in almost 2 years.

The havoc it wreaked is not confined to the millions of pounds worth of dam-

age caused; the blow against British imperialism's 'normalisation' propaganda and the 'embarrassing' way in which its security was breached are proof of the continuing strength of the IRA.

Throughout June the mounting toll of RUC forces continued; by 18 June 18 RUC and 3 RUC Reservists had been killed this year in IRA operations.

On 14 June a member of the elite divisional Mobile Support Unit was shot and wounded in Newry and on 16 June an Active Service Unit from the 1st Battalion, South Derry Brigade ambushed and killed an RUC man in Killea. On 18 June a 1,000 pound landmine hidden in a culvert near Kinawley County Fermanagh, destroyed an unmarked Ford Sierra in which two RUC men were travelling. The explosion killed one and seriously wounded the other.

The IRA strategy of attacking economic as well as military targets was demonstrated once again on 24 June. Armed volunteers provided back up to secure positions for the placement of two large incendiary bombs in Derry city centre. The bombs were defused after 3 hours but managed to bring the city centre to a standstill. Superintendent Basil Elliott hypocritically remarked: 'But for the good work of the Army... those responsible would have been adding to the unemployment situation in the city'.

Malcolm Ellis

Sinn Féin advance

Despite total censorship on RTE, under Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act, Sinn Féin won a significant increase in votes in the Twenty-Six County local government elections on 20 June. Sinn Féin's total vote rose by nearly 60 per cent from just under 34,000 (1979) to about 54,000. Significantly in Dublin and the border areas Sinn Féin's vote more than doubled: Dublin City and County from 5,000 (1979) to 12,446; Donegal, Leitrim, Monaghan and Louth from 6,253 (1979) to 12,702. Sinn Féin secured about 5 per cent of the total vote in Dublin, 11 per cent in Leitrim and 12 per cent in Monaghan. Sinn Féin increased its number of seats from 30 to 39. These results mark an important advance in Republican support in the Twenty-Six Counties.

The local elections revealed a significant rejection by the urban poor of the electoral process itself - in Dublin Corporation the turn-out fell to an unprecedented 43%. The coalition government's share of the total vote fell from 47 per cent (1979) to 37 per cent. In Dublin it plum-

meted from 53 per cent (1979) to 35 per cent. The Irish Labour Party's vote was halved in Dublin from 20 per cent (1979) to 10.5 per cent.

It is clear from the results that the Irish Labour Party's lost votes largely went to the pro-imperialist Workers

Party. In Dublin Corporation the Workers Party pushed the Labour Party into fourth place. As the Irish Labour Party fades, the Workers Party is emerging to take its place as the political voice of the more privileged sections of the Irish working class and urban middle-class voters. The Workers Party's virulent hatred of the Republican Movement has made it an acceptable substitute for the ineffective Irish Labour Party.

It is no coincidence that Sinn Féin's best results were in Dublin and the border areas. It was the urban poor and people most directly affected by British occupation of the Six Counties who voted for Republicanism. As the economic, political and social crisis of the neo-colonial Twenty-Six Counties intensifies the opportunity for the Republican Movement to become the voice of the dispossessed in the Free State will grow.

Terry O'Halloran

Strip searching - the lies

The Northern Ireland Office pamphlet, *Armagh Prison, Strip Searching, The Facts* is little more than a shamefaced attempt to discredit the well publicised and growing campaign both here in Britain and internationally against the barbaric treatment of women in Armagh prison. The NIO adopt a cynical and patronising tone only wishing to counter the 'misleading and inaccurate accounts which have been circulated' causing 'anxiety among people who believe quite properly, that all prisoners should be treated humanely' (sic).

The NIO go on to suggest that the strip-searches carried out in Armagh are in no way different from those carried out in other women's prisons in Britain. Then why, in September 1983, was the monthly average of strip-searches per prisoner in Armagh 3.4 while in England and Wales the figure was 0.3 per prisoner?

The pamphlet is littered with omissions, half-truths and downright lies from beginning to end. Yet even the NIO have to admit that while they claim strip-searches are carried out in the interests of security the items found 'have not in themselves had any particular security significance'.

The NIO go to great lengths to point out that each search is carried out 'sensitively and with due regard to considerations of human dignity'. Women are physically forced to remove sanitary protection and are left to bleed.

Jackie Moore was strip-searched only 2 weeks after giving birth to her baby and made to remove sanitary protection and breast pads. This is NIO sensitivity.

The pamphlet is a pathetic and disgusting attempt to discredit the women of the Six Counties and their supporters. But we should not feel too discouraged by their mealy-mouthed rhetoric for it is obvious that having to resort to such propaganda shows that the campaign is hitting them where it hurts.

Sian Bond

Solidarity with the women of South Africa

Dear Friend
On Friday August 9 we are marking South Africa Women's Day with a public meeting to be held in Islington Town Hall. It is a day which is commemorated each year to celebrate and remember the 20,000 women who, in 1956, marched on Pretoria in protest against the apartheid regime's notorious pass laws.

It is also a day on which we rededicate ourselves in solidarity with the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

Enclosed you will find leaflets advertising the meeting. We hope that you and your organisation will be able to assist us to distribute these and generally publicise the meeting. Would you undertake to:

- enclose the leaflet in mailings you are sending out between now and early August (quantities available on request);
- include details of the meeting in your journal/newsletter;
- also include an article on South African Women's Day.

Messages of solidarity would be welcomed and it would be appreciated if these were sent in as soon as possible to enable us to print and distribute them at the meeting.

Opposition to apartheid within South Africa is today at an unprecedented level and women, as always, are playing a prominent part.

We trust that you will wish to support and participate in the meeting and we look forward to hearing from you.

We thank you for your solidarity
Eleanor Khanyile
Chairperson
Regional Women's Section
African National Congress

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

International Day of Solidarity with the Women of South Africa

Friday 9 August 7pm
Islington Town Hall
Upper Street London N1

with speakers from SWAPO, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the ANC

We invite you to share in our singing and visual displays, to listen to our speakers and our dramatic presentation and learn about the struggle against apartheid.

Demonstrate your solidarity and support the women of South Africa.

Women Unite for People's Power!

No Ins: No Comment!

Dear FRFI,
'It is the position of this administration that sanctions, such as those in the legislative before you today, would be counter-productive: they are more likely to strengthen resistance to change than to strengthen the forces of reform.'

United States Department of State, South Africa: The Case Against Sanctions April 1985

'From a practical point of view the disinvestment strategy simply does not make sense... Even if Western capitalists withdrew their capital, which is highly unlikely, it is even more unlikely that any good would result. Opponents of disinvestment can convincingly argue that isolation and economic chaos would force the government to adopt even more repressive measures to contain social unrest.'

The Revolutionary Communist Party, the next step, June 1985

Yours
Trevor Rayne

Close down South African Airways

Manchester FRFI/RCG is initiating a broad campaign to close down the South African Airways office in Manchester, local representative of apartheid. We are planning weekly pickets and open meetings.

If you are willing to take part in this campaign, please contact: Manchester FRFI, Box 38, 434 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester, M3 4BN

Reactionary undertones

Dear FRFI
My comrades and myself at Albany send our greetings and solidarity to Helen from Edinburgh who was arrested by the racist police whilst she was peacefully picketing with several comrades against the sale of South African goods. Her courage and determination is an example to all anti-apartheid activists. Smash all aspects of apartheid now.

We strongly condemn the Edinburgh AA Group motion against Helen because of its most reactionary undertones. It is obvious that those deserving the strongest reprimand are the bureaucrats in the leadership of the Edinburgh AA Group who by their action have shown clearly their unsuitability to be at the head of any anti-apartheid organisation.

In solidarity
Danny Breaks
HM Prison, Albany

Marines in the zoo

Dear FRFI,
I read an article in our local rag about some Marines running amok. One of them was ill treating a Guinea Pig. He repeatedly threw it in the air, kicked it about the street, swung it above his head by its legs and then threw it under a car, killing it. In court he said 'I do not feel that I ill treated the animal, why that's absurd'. He was fined.

Another two Marines appeared in court. One Mark Joseph Beale 45th Commando was fined £125 for assaulting a person, kicking and punching him to his injury and violently resisting arrest. The other was fined £60 for trying to rescue his buddy from the police.

You would think that would be enough rampaging up and down the streets for one week, but alas David Andrew Bennett also 45th Commando was fined £60 for conducting himself in a disorderly manner, cursing, shouting and swearing and challenging the lieges and the public to a fight. What kind of people are these Marines? No don't answer that,

Fighting for their Queen and Country are they? I wonder what threat the Guinea Pig was to imperialism. Perhaps in his drunken stupor he thought it was part of a terrorist organisation trying to chew up the government.

These people expect to be respected and given a pat on the back for the job they do. As far as I'm concerned these people are nothing more than thugs and should be shown as much respect as they gave to the people and the animal they attacked. They are the kind of sick people imperialism breeds.
Smash imperialism!
Freedom and rights for animals!
Marines in the Zoo!
Carene

Never back down

Dear FRFI
You told me all about City Group. I had not heard of them before, but I was glad of the education on them. The AAM sound like cowards, people who won't back up what they have to say and bend to pressure from this government which supports racism. My own philosophy on any subject is, if you believe you are right then never back down, no matter what... When I criticise the AAM, I don't mean most of the people in it, I am going against the Executive Committee, they are the real traitors, I suppose the Committee members are all a gang of 'liberal minded do-gooders' and when things start to get a bit heavy, they start looking for an out. People like that have no principles at all.

Yours in struggle and solidarity
Liam Tierney
HM Prison Hull

Thanks for a good anti-imperialist weekend

Dear Friends,
We are writing this letter to tell you about our feelings on the anti-imperialist weekend in London.

It was a great meeting for all those who are fighting for their rights and for people who are struggling against the Tory dictatorship. The organisation was very good and everybody was helpful.

We are really thankful for RCG and FRFI that they invite us to this event, specially Viraj and Chris. It gave us lots of opportunity to publicise our case and ask for support.

Yours sincerely
M Ashar, Rosmina,
who are fighting for their right to live together in this country with their children.

I think the Anti-Imperialist weekend was brilliantly arranged and presented. There is a strong bond and commitment by all people involved. For people like me it's an eye opener to what is going on. Enjoyed the weekend, it's all worth coming to. Could do it again.

Yours sincerely
Manda Kunda,
fighting for the right of herself and her 3 children to stay in this country

Palestine support

Dear Comrades
Just a short note to thank you for your continuing excellent coverage of the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people, including the latest article in issue No 50 written by Eddie Abrahams on the present situation in Lebanon. We are of course deeply upset by the latest massacre taking place and the continuing conspiracy against the Palestinian Revolution, and your article was spot on in exposing the forces involved in continuing attempts to crush the revolutionary forces in Lebanon, and the Palestinian resistance as a central part of that. We wish to take the opportunity to express our deepest empathy and solidarity with the brothers and sisters in the camps in Beirut whose brave and desperate resistance is a shining example to us all. It has also shown and will continue to show the reactionaries the real strength of the Palestinian resistance and its people, that confronted by a common enemy they will unite and resist with all their power, despite the sacrifice required and the power of the enemy.

We also express our utmost support and thanks to groups such as RCG for such fine support to the Palestinian cause, the latest FRFI being one such example.

Keep up the good work. Revolutionary regards,
Yours in solidarity
Palestinian Solidarity Committee
Australia

FRFI SUPPORTER GROUPS

meet regularly in the following areas to plan and carry out our work — education, discussion, funds, sales and campaigns are all on the agenda.
JOIN US!

LEEDS

meets fortnightly at Leeds Trades Club, Savile Mount, Leeds 7. For details contact: Leeds FRFI, Box FRFI, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds 2

EDINBURGH

meets regularly to discuss the politics of the Revolutionary Communist Group and plan our activities. Forthcoming discussions on: PTA — Public Order Act — Unite to defend democratic rights
Communism and British imperialism
For details contact:
Edinburgh FRFI, c/o Box 40, 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

SOUTH LONDON

meets fortnightly on Tuesdays. Next meeting Tuesday 30 July. For details contact: South London FRFI, BM Box 4835, London WC1N 3XX

GLASGOW

meets fortnightly on Thursdays. For details contact FRFI sellers or: FRFI Box 10, 340 West Prince's St, Glasgow

BRADFORD

meets fortnightly on Mondays. For details contact Bradford FRFI, c/o 6 Edmund St, Bradford 5

NORTH LONDON

meets fortnightly on Mondays at the Red Rose Centre, 129 Seven Sisters Road, London N7 (Finsbury Park tube or Buses 253 and 29). Next meeting 29 July

DUNDEE

meets fortnightly. For details contact: Dundee FRFI, PO Box 27, Dundee DD1 9DR

MANCHESTER

meets fortnightly on Thursdays at Slade Lane Neighbourhood Centre, Slade Lane, Longsight, Manchester 12. For further details contact: Manchester FRFI, Box 38, 434 Corn Exchange Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M4 4BN.

HELP!

HELP! During the Dayschool at Caxton House a valuable video recorder and TV set were stolen from an upstairs room. £1,000 lost in ten minutes, spoiling an otherwise successful weekend. Although Insurance may cover 60-70% of the cost of replacement we have to find over £300 very quickly. CAN YOU HELP? Send cheques IPOs to: Larkin Publications, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX.

SOUTH LONDON

Public Meeting: South Africa: Britain Out of Apartheid, Apartheid Out of Britain
Wednesday 31 July, 7.30pm
The Crypt, St Mathews Meeting Place, Brixton Hill, London SW2 (opposite Lambeth Town Hall)
Speakers: FRFI, City AA, South London Women's Action Group, Soweto Students Representative Council. Also poetry, music, batiks, bookstall
Organised by South London FRFI

LEEDS

Public Meeting: Britain Out of Apartheid, Apartheid Out of Britain
Monday 29 July, 7.30pm
Leeds Trades Club, Savile Mount, Leeds 7
Organised by Leeds FRFI

LONDON

Festival Against Apartheid: Yes to Peace and Justice! No to Apartheid, War and Murder!
Saturday 7 September
Details to be announced shortly

Mass Day of Action Against the Apartheid Embassy
Saturday 19 October
Details to be announced shortly

Both organised by City of London Anti-Apartheid Group

EAST LONDON

Picket: Thames Magistrates Court, Aylward Street, London E1,
Monday 9 September, 1-2pm
In support of 3 anti-racists arrested for challenging the police, Barclays, Plesseys and other racist organisations at Daneferd School in Bethnal Green. For more information contact Mick Gavan — daytime 01-981 6515

FRFI FUND: WE NEED £500 A MONTH

JUNE: £319

The June FRFI Fund fell £181 short of the £500 we need every month to subsidise the unwaged rate of the paper. We therefore urge all our readers to help bridge the gap in July and August. Over the holiday period this means a sacrifice — make that sacrifice and donate to our funds.

Most of the FRFI Fund is raised by our Supporter Groups. Please keep up the effort over the summer with collections at Fairs, organising outdoor benefits and socials. In June the Supporter Groups raised in London £107.80 (North) and £80.44 (South), Manchester £50.69, Dundee £27.85, Glasgow £14, Edinburgh £12.20, Leeds £12, Bradford £6.44, Liverpool £5. Individuals readers sent in £23.02. Many thanks.

Please keep the money flowing in. Make donations payable to 'Larkin Publications' and return to: FRFI BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

I/we want to donate £_____ to the FRFI Fund.

Name/Organisation _____

Address _____

I do/do not want you to mention my name/organisation

Larkin publications

Miners Strike 1984-1985
People versus State
By David Reed and Olivia Adamson
144pp, £2.50 (+ 40p p&p)

Ireland: the key to the British revolution
By David Reed
450pp, £3.95 (+ 65p p&p)

South Africa: Britain out of Apartheid, Apartheid out of Britain
By Carol Brickley, Terry O'Halloran, David Reed
56pp, 95p (28p p&p)
ISBN 0 905400 06 2

Order from Larkin Publications, BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX

The revolutionary road to communism in Britain
Manifesto of the Revolutionary Communist Group
175pp, £1.50 (+ 45p p&p)

Unite to Fight the PTA — Defend Maire O'Shea, Drop the Charges Now!
Irish Solidarity Movement Pamphlet
30p, (+ 15p p&p)

Common Cause with the Irish People!
Build the Irish Solidarity Movement
Irish Solidarity Movement Campaigning leaflet
50 copies — £1 (includes p&p)

HANDS OFF IRELAND



Maire O'Shea to be tried

Maire O'Shea's defence challenge to the prosecution case was rejected by the Liverpool magistrate at the committal proceedings on 1-2 July. Now she and four others - William Grimes, Peter Jorden, Peter Lynch and Patrick Brasil - must stand trial on the charge of conspiracy to cause an explosion.

The opening of the committal was marked by a national day of action called by the Maire O'Shea support campaign. Comrades in the Irish Solidarity Committees helped organise and took part in a successful picket of the Home Office in London and a public meeting in Manchester attended by 70 people. The fascist attack on this meeting was repelled. The Manchester committee went on to picket Aldine House, the local Home Office building, on 2 July. The events were called by the local Maire O'Shea support committees as were pickets and street events 1-3 July in Birmingham. FRFI comrades supported the picket of the magistrates court, Leeds Town Hall called by the Leeds Anti-PTA committee. Press coverage of the O'Shea challenge at the committal and the day of action was deliberately non-existent, in contrast to the hysterical coverage of the June PTA arrests.

The national committee of the Maire O'Shea Support campaign has called a demonstration in Birmingham in November demanding the dropping of the charges against her. FRFI joins with the ISM in calling for every effort to build a successful national demonstration. Tony Sheridan

continued from page 1

Trial by Fleet Street

sniffer dogs were used in a Torquay hotel. A large area and several hotels were evacuated. The public was warned to turn off all electronic gadgets in case they detonated the bomb. Hotel staff were said to have recognised 'suspects', names and photos. Then - suddenly - there was no bomb. It was all a false alarm.

27 June - Police announce that bomb may be hidden on beach in Great Yarmouth and continue intensive search.

28 June - Arms cache said to have been found in area of Glasgow sealed off by police.

1 July - 11 people so far charged.

2 July - Newman announces that search for bombs is being ended. Says that following the Rubens hotel bomb 'the pub-

LOYALISM ON THE MARCH

People in Britain must be wondering what is happening when they see Loyalists clashing with the RUC in the Six Counties of Ireland and Thatcher and direct-ruler Hurd sanctioning bans on 'traditional' Loyalist marches.

Since early June Loyalists, in response to Sinn Fein successes in the local elections, have been parading their sectarian bigotry in nationalist areas, attacking the homes of Sinn Fein councillors, rampaging through the streets in attempts to terrorise local nationalists. Yet on 20 June the RUC announced their decision, with Hurd's approval, to reroute Loyalists' parades from the nationalist Tunnel area in Portadown, a march in Castledawson was rerouted and one banned in Cookstown. The propaganda machine to demonstrate the 'impartiality' of British rule in Ireland was switched on.

lic was warned of a "slight possibility" of further bombs having been placed in a number of seaside resorts. As a result of further developments the police are now satisfied that this particular threat has been removed.

How curious! First there were bombs all over the place and then, as a result of undisclosed 'further developments',... there were none! But not before some of those arrested had been charged, their 'guilt' having been widely publicised and decided; a new anti-terrorist coordinating committee headed by Sir Kenneth Newman had been established; the public had been accustomed to the sight of heavily armed police sealing off various areas and ringing Lambeth Court when those charged appeared there; anti-Irish hysteria had been created and the PTA said to be once again 'vital'. And all this at a time when British talk of normality in the Six Counties was being shown to be a pack of lies. How conveniently was attention shifted from recent Sinn Fein election successes and the subsequent furious response of the Loyalists.

Fleet Street played a vital role in all this. According even to British law those

In Cookstown Loyalists defied the ban, clashed with the RUC and then went on to attack RUC homes in the area. In Castledawson hundreds of Loyalists refused to accept the re-route and marched into a nationalist area resulting in further confrontation with the RUC. Arch-bigot Paisley, however, was later given an RUC escort through the area. RUC 'impartiality' lapsed in Ballycastle, Antrim as they watched Loyalists viciously attacking nationalist women.

Loyalists, outraged at the denial of their 'right' to terrorise, attack and intimidate nationalists, put on a 'show of

accused are innocent unless and until a jury finds otherwise. But Fleet Street, acting as judge and jury, proclaimed their guilt from the first and had no hesitation in trumpeting every police claim (however wild) as fact.

The Sun
'Mr Big planned carnage in 12 hotels... And their deadly devices were due to explode in mid July to coincide with the start of the school summer break'.

The Guardian
'Police thwart IRA bombings in Britain... The IRA's summer festivities have been drastically curtailed.'

The Mirror
'Police busted the biggest IRA cell ever known in Britain and found a diary of death'.

Telegraph
'... an Irishman alleged to be one of the IRA top bombers in mainland Britain was being questioned last night... His nickname is the "Chancer" and he is known to be a friend of the convicted IRA terrorist Gerard Tuite'.

Daily Express
said that those arrested 'had documents

force' in Portadown on 3 July. The ban on the 7 July Orange parade marching through the nationalist Tunnel area of Portadown was lifted and protesting nationalists were forcibly removed by the RUC. On 11 July Hurd appealed in the House of Commons for the Loyalists 'to co-operate with the police and obey the law' as they prepared for their annual sectarian jamboree. As thousands of Loyalists paraded their supremacy on the 12 July throughout the Six Counties, 2,000 staged a protest in Portadown and clashed with the RUC. Hurd and the RUC remained adamant - no march through the Portadown Tunnel. Throughout the weekend of 13/14 July the confrontation continued, incensed loyalists versus the RUC. Over 50 RUC were injured by a barrage of missiles; plastic bullets were fired in return. The propaganda balloon of the 'impartiality' policy had to be pumped up - the world and in particular the Free State regime were watching.

Britain is attempting to demonstrate its impartiality in its domination of Ireland. The bans and the subsequent clashes are but a sop to the Free State regime, a propaganda exercise to allow the Free State to justify open collaboration with British imperialism. So Britain bans or re-routes a few key marches whilst others go unreported and unopposed - softly-softly.

Yet even the most meaningless concessions strike at the very basis of British rule in Ireland - the maintenance of Loyalist privilege and supremacy. Loyalist supremacy is threatened, their indisputable 'rights' are in supposed dispute - a Loyalist backlash is inevitable. Britain knows that at the end of the day the domination of Ireland depends on keeping Loyalist supremacy intact.

Pauline Sellars

NO TO TRIAL BY FLEET STREET

In protest against trial by Fleet Street and the press whipping-up of anti-Irish hysteria, the London Irish Solidarity Committees held a picket of the *Daily Express* on 8 July. The rush hour crowds in Fleet Street were treated - for once - to a dose of the truth as the picketers chanted, spoke and leafleted against the gutter journalism of the press. The *Daily Express* was the particular target for this picket both because of its reporting of the recent arrests but also because of its consistent anti-Irish racism, summed up in its Editor's words 'Wouldn't you rather admit to being a pig than Irish'. Ironically here in the heartland of the British press the police - much in evidence during the picket and with another vanload hiding in a backstreet - threatened arrests if picketers... sold anti-PTA pamphlets or FRFI.

linking them to the Brighton Grand Hotel bombing...

The result of this has been to establish in the public mind the 'guilt' of those arrested. At least half of those arrested were released without charge. Unlike in the Six Counties the police in Britain still have the minor inconvenience of juries to deal with. The press coverage coupled with the police high security theatre when the accused appear in court, ensures that any jury will have pre-judged the case. The press also unanimously claimed that civilian casualties were the aim of the campaign. But they produced not a shred of evidence to back this. Nobody pointed out that the IRA (whom they all assumed to be responsible) goes to great lengths to avoid civilian casualties by issuing lengthy warnings.

Politicians fell over each other to heap praise on the police and publicise the 'guilt' of those arrested. Scab Kinnock congratulated the police for their 'remarkable detective work and the success they have achieved against the Provisional IRA... The whole nation has cause to be grateful'. Note that Kinnock's whole nation is restricted to the ruling class and its followers. When the Irish

No democracy for Sinn Fein councillors

The wider context to this year's season of marches and attacks on vulnerable Irish nationalist communities is the successful election of 59 Sinn Fein (SF) councillors to local government. It is in this area, that, once again, international publicity has been given to British injustice and backing for loyalist supremacy.

Examples abound of the reality of this. In Cookstown, Limavady and Lisburn Councils, SF councillors have been excluded from Council business. In Magherafelt and Strabane, open fighting has broken out with Magherafelt SF councillor John Davey being hit over the head with a chair. In Omagh Council, Sinn Fein won chairmanship and as Seamus Kerr opened the first meeting in Irish, unionists displayed their murderous bigotry shouting 'Speak English. Shut up you Fenian bastard. No Pope here. No bastards here, you want your throat cut, Kerr, you Fenian bastard.' In Strabane, Newry and Mourne Councils, the pro-British Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) has further isolated itself by helping unionists into leading council posts. The para-military RUC has supported loyalist domination right into the Council chambers, being on hand to remove protesting councillors as was the case at Craigavon Council on 7 June when Republicans Brendan Curran and Brian McCann were removed by the police. Four days later the same police impartiality was shown in Cookstown Council when three SF and two SDLP councillors were ejected from the council chamber by the RUC. On 27 June four SF councillors were removed by the RUC from a Cookstown council meeting. Two SDLP councillors were subsequently removed by the RUC - for protesting against the removal of the SF councillors.

In no sense can it be claimed that local democracy exists in the Six Counties. Sinn Fein's successful electoral intervention has demonstrated this clearly. Everything rests on British imperialism's commitment to Loyalist privilege as the means of keeping Ireland divided.

Gary Clapton

people are attacked and murdered, Kinnock stays silent. When the Irish people vote for Sinn Fein and their elected members are banned from the council chambers Kinnock stays silent. But when the anti-Irish floodgates are opened up he jumps (as he jumped to condemn the striking miners) to shout 'murder'.

Sir Kenneth Newman's seaside sag has enabled the British state to further attack democratic rights in Britain, particularly those of the Irish community. Today it is the Irish for whom evident no rules or justice are necessary... tomorrow it will be whoever dares to oppose the rich and their government. Indeed we have already seen how the striking miners were depicted as 'thugs and terrorists'. FRFI condemns the anti-Irish hysteria of the media and politicians. We defend the right of the Irish people to struggle for their national liberation by whatever means they choose. And we say loud and clear that the criminals and terrorists are the British imperialists who continue to forcibly rule Ireland by means of armed occupation, terror and murder.

Maxine Williams